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CEMA PLANNING COMMITTEE'S BERLIN SESSION REPORTED

Honecker Receives Baybakov, CEMA Delegation

LD252142 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 25 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received on Friday the chairmen of the central planning bodies of the member-countries of CEMA who are taking part in the 30th CEMA Planning Committee session.

In a friendly talk he stressed the fundamental importance of the constant strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states for the further successful struggle for securing peace. The Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact states is a realistic, acceptable initiative program for the solution of the most pressing issues of war and peace, with the interests of all sides being taken into account. The GDR, Erich Honecker said, will make its active contribution to lending substance to the Political Declaration.

In implementing the resolutions of the 10th SED Party Congress, Erich Honecker continued, the people of the GDR are working with great willingness to economically strengthen the socialist fatherland. They are doing all they can so that the GDR can fulfill its responsibility for the preservation of peace on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO. This realization shapes the consciousness of millions of GDR citizens. It stimulates their active and conscious application of their creative powers.

Never have the efforts of the GDR to further shape a developed socialist society been as great as they are at present. In the constant strengthening of the workers' and peasants' power they are sustained by the certain knowledge that in the peoples of the powerful Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community they have fraternal comrades-in-arms and allies.

The economy has a particularly important place in the strengthening of a socialist community. Above all, what matters is to raise the effectiveness of cooperation within CEMA on the basis of a unified economic strategy and a coordinated economic policy. In joint work there should be more concentration, Erich Honecker said, on the introduction of modern technological processes, machines and equipment. The prime aim is to achieve a decisive acceleration in the dynamic development of economies by means of intensification through higher efficiency, productivity and quality of people's work; higher effectiveness of science and technology; and improved economy in the use of materials. The generalized application of the best experiences in socialist and communist construction is of great value.

In the comradely exchange of views, ways and means of further depending socialist economic integration in the period until 1990 were discussed.

Nikolay Baybakov, the USSR representative in the CEMA Planning Committee, and chairman of the 30th meeting, stressed the efforts of the committee to continually depend cooperation between CEMA member-countries and thus to make a considerable contribution to raising the well-being of the people of the socialist community and to the strengthening of peace. He stressed that the USSR party and state leadership ascribe great importance to the consolidation of the economic power of the fraternally allied countries. On behalf of the chairmen of the CEMA countries central planning bodies, Nikolay Baybakov thanked the GDR party and state leadership for the great attention paid to the work of the Planning Committee and for the good conditions created for holding the 30th meeting.

Other participants at the meeting were: Stanish Bonev (People's Republic of Bulgaria), Lajos Faluvegi (People's Republic of Hungary), Vu Dai (Socialist Republic of Vietnam), Gerhard Schuerer (GDR), Humberto Perez (Republic of Cuba), Dumaagiyn Sodnom (People's Republic of Mongolia), Janusz Obodowski (People's Republic of Poland), Stefan Birlea (Socialist Republic of Romania) and Svatopluk Potac (CSSR). The representatives of the SFRY, Milos Sindjic, and of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Uthman 'Abdullah were also present.

The talk was held in an atmosphere of comradeliness and of agreement on all points discussed.

Hungarian Energy Management Discussed

LD252155 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, February 24 (MTI) -- The 30th Berlin session of the CEMA Planning Cooperation Commission discussed the results of Hungarian energy management and material rationalization programme. It was stated that some of the results, such as a method for the reduction of gas consumption of compressor stations at gas pipelines, the use of agricultural by-products and wood shavings, the production of economical lamps for households and modern kettles for the glass industry can be used in CEMA cooperation.

Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, president of the National Planning Office and leader of the Hungarian delegation, met Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic and chairman of the State Planning Commission. The two politicians discussed some concrete issues of comprehensive economic relations.

Session Ends 25 February

LD252133 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 25 Feb (ADN) -- The 30th session of the Planning Committee of the CEMA ended in Berlin on Friday afternoon after 3 days of discussions. The protocol of the meeting bears the signatures of all the chairmen of the national planning bodies of the CEMA. The signing was attended by the representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The document contains stipulations which will help pave the way for the 37th meeting of the CEMA. Also, measures to expand cooperation after 1985 were approved. They relate to the rational and economic use of fuel, energy and raw material reserves and cooperation by the CEMA countries to further improve the supply of foodstuffs.

Fundamental issues of future economic policy were coordinated.

At the end of the meeting the candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED, Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission and head of the GDR delegation, gave a reception for participants in the 30th meeting of the CEMA Planning Committee. This was also attended by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr Gerhard Weiss, the GDR's permanent representative in the CEMA, and the head of the CEMA Relations Department of the Central Committee of the SED, Horst Tschanter.

BTA DIRECTOR RESPONDS TO ROME INQUIRY DEPARTMENT

AU261428 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 25 Feb 83

["Exposing the Slander, the Political Diversion" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Feb 25 (BTA) -- Today the Italian press published a communique of the Department of Inquiry in Rome in connection with the interview of the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, Mr Boyan Traykov.

The Department of Inquiry, reads the communique, feels obliged to explain that the inquiry currently in progress into the Sergey Antonov case and into other persons in connection with the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul the Second is conducted in complete respect for the existing laws.

The communique stresses that the Bulgarian statement insisting on a plot seeking to trigger off a slanderous campaign against Bulgaria and socialism in general is ungrounded, recalling that in the Italian state the juridical authorities are independent and this independence is guaranteed by the Constitution.

The communique stresses in conclusion that: Proofs were mentioned in the interview, which are said to be in possessed [as received] by the Bulgarian authorities, and which are supposed to testify to the innocence of Antonov. Precisely in that connection arises the need of cooperation. The Department of Inquiry expresses a wish for these proofs to be presented immediately to the investigating magistrate in Rome, in order to judge their justification and use for the purposes of justice, all the more so, that as it is insisted, they will serve to prove that Antonov has nothing to do with the things he is accused of.

The director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY was invited to comment on the communique of the Rome Department of Inquiry.

Mr Boyan Traykov said: "Three months we have been waiting calmly and trustingly for the results of the investigation into the case of Sergey Antonov. The development of the investigation, however, has shown the strange way in which the real evidence and the witnesses' testimony in fabour of Antonov have been treated. The reply of the Department of Inquiry in connection with my interview for the Bulgarian television is also strange, a reply avoiding some major and important questions. I have asked in the interview concretely and precisely:

-- Why the investigation has trust in the testimony of a criminal killer sentenced to death and mistrusts the words of the respectable and honest citizen Antonov who has never been sentenced?

-- Why it mistrusts the evidence of the witnesses -- Bulgarian and Italian Communists, because of their political and ideological affiliation? Aren't all people equal before the law? And why the testimony of a criminal with a neo-fascist ideology has been regarded with more trust?

-- How has it happened so that, in spite of the obligatory secrecy of inquest and his complete isolation (for which the investigation authorities are responsible), Agca has learned about some decisive arguments for Antonov's alibi and, one after the other, has corrected his previous proofs in a manner aimed to overwhelm that alibi. Or, [words indistinct] have said in the interview, "how has Agca learned exactly when and what to correct and what a new lie to invent?"

-- Doesn't the Italian investigation see the numerous discrepancies and contradictions in the evidence of Agca and the reality, of which I have cited more than one example?

-- Why the host of doubts, which the contradictory evidence of Agca has undoubtedly arisen, is treated as "an expression of spontaneity and sincerity", i.e. in his favour, and not according to the classical Roman law maxim "every doubt is in favour of the accused", i.e. in favour of Antonov?

The Department of Inquiry in Rome has sidetracked but not answered these and other questions raised by us.

Especially surprising are the final words in the communique of the Department of Inquiry of Rome. I have not spoken in the interview of evidence to be presented, I have just pointed out clearly some facts reruting the accusations of Agca and, therefore, showing the innocence of Antonov.

How are we to interpret the demand of proofs and problems which are so easily provable for the Italian investigating authorities. Is it not possible for the Rome magistrature to ask for information from the Italian customs officials on whether Rositsa Antonova has left Italy on May 8, 1981 or not? The respective Italian authorities should have it documented that Rositsa Antonova was not in Italy in January of 1981, and was not therefore in a position to become introduced to Agca at that time in the delicatessen-restuarant "Piccadilly" on "Barberini" Street in Rome. If the inquiry authorities are earnestly after the truth then they should check these facts which are documented on Italian territory, instead of demanding them from Sofia.

The communique notes "the obvious need of cooperation". We are not only ready to render cooperation, but we ourselves were the first to propose cooperation in an official letter of the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice to the Italian Ministry of Justice. We proposed cooperation on a reciprocal basis. A logical question however arises: Having left us unfamiliar with the accusations against Antonov, do the Italian inquiry authorities have any moral or juridical right to demand from us the presentation of proofs to crush these accusations?! Is it not the guilt that should be proved, not the innocence?! It is again that the Rome Department of Inquiry has neglected a key classical principle, namely that the accusation is what should be proved!

He who thinks we can be treated in a such an ungrounded and unprecedented way, being presented as guilty who should defend themselves, he is deeply mistaken.

Bulgaria has no connection with the attempted assassination of the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The slander levelled at us has been rejected and well-argumentedly exposed by us and we shall continue to expose its nature of a political diversion.

NICOLAE, ELENA CEAUSESCU PAY 3-DAY FRIENDLY VISIT

Arrival Reported

AU241041 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of Romania, arrived in Bulgaria on 24 February for a friendly visit accompanied by Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

Our special correspondent Borislav Dzhamdzhiev and our reporter Rositsa Spasova report from Burgas that the Romanian guests were cordially greeted at the local airport by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, leaders of the city and the okrug, and representatives of the Burgas public.

Thousands of working people greeted the high-ranking Romanian guest along Burgas' streets. A ceremony took place at the square in front of the okrug party club.

(Vladimir Stanchev), chairman of the Executive Committee of the city People's Council, declared Comrades Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu honorable citizens of Burgas, and handed them the symbolic key to the city. Afterwards a brief meeting took place at the Burgas Okrug BCP Headquarters at which Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the Burgas Okrug BCP Committee, briefed the guests on the socioeconomic development of the city and the okrug.

Bulgarian-Romanian talks are expected to begin later today.

Zhivkov-Ceausescu Talks Open

AU241924 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Text] Burgas, Feb 24 (BTA spec corr Krasimir Drumev) -- This afternoon in the "Perla" residence near Burgas the talks began between Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the Bulgarian side the talks are attended by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs; Mr Andrey Lukanov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the joint Bulgaro-Romanian commission on economic and techno-scientific cooperation; Mr Niko Yakhiel, member of the CC of the BCP and assistant of the secretary general of the CC of the BCP; Mr Nikolay Zhishev, member of the CC of the BCP and first secretary of the county BCP Committee in Burgas, and Mr Todor Stoichev, member of the CC of the BCP and Bulgaria's ambassador to Romania.

On the Romanian side the talks are attended by Mrs Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and chairman of the National Council of Science and Technology, Mr Stefan Andrei, candidate-member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and minister of foreign affairs; Mr Ion M. Nicolae, member of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and deputy of the first minister of the government; Mr Silviu Curticeanu, member of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and head of "record-keeping" department of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party, and Mr Constantin Mitea, member of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, as well as Mr Petre Duminica, member of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and Romania's ambassador to Bulgaria.

The two party leaders and heads of state informed each other in detail of the fulfilment of the main tasks ensuing from the decisions of the 12th Congress of the BCP and the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Romania. Special importance was attached to the question related to the further development of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Romania, between the two neighbouring countries. Positive assessment was given to the fulfilment of the agreements reached at the previous meeting held between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu on extending the joint work in the economic and techno-scientific sphere. Discussed were the possibilities for extending bilateral cooperation and specialization.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Before the official talks a meeting was held between Mr Todor Zhivkov, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu. Discussion went on questions related to further deepening Bulgaria and Romania's friendship and cooperation. Exchanged were also views on a number of international matters.

Zhivkov Decorates Ceausescu

AU251046 Sofia BTA in English 0908 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Burgas, Feb 25 /BTA/ -- Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, decorated Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and Romania's president, with the "Stara Planina" Order on ribbon.

This high distinction goes to Mr Nicolae Ceausescu for his contribution to the development and consolidation of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Romanian Communist Party, between Bulgaria and Romania, between the Bulgarian and the Romanian peoples and in connection with his 65th anniversary.

In his speech on the decoration of the order Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized that Mr Nicolae Ceausescu has awarded for his 65th birth anniversary and for his merits for the development of the friendship and cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined Mr Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the struggle of the Romanian people for freedom and social justice. He emphasizes that for 18 years now, as Romania's top leader, Mr Ceausescu has greatly contributed to the stepped up construction of socialism.

After he elaborated on the constantly deepening Bulgaro-Romanian friendship, Mr Todor Zhivkov noted in conclusion: "The relations between Bulgaria and Romania are relations of two really fraternal socialist countries, relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. As members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and of the CMEA our countries are making their contribution to the preservation and consolidation of peace on our planet."

Ceausescu Speech

AU281136 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Feb 83 pp 1,3

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at 25 February ceremony in Burgas, Bulgaria, at which he was awarded the Stara Planina Order with ribbon.]

[Text] Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov,

Dear comrades,

First of all, I would like to wholeheartedly thank you for this high distinction of the People's Republic of Bulgaria which was awarded to me today. I consider this distinction to be an appreciation of the activity I carried on and am carrying on within the revolutionary movement, as a militant of the Romanian Communist Party, for social and national liberation, for the building of socialism in my homeland, and for the cause of socialism and peace, and as an appreciation of the contribution to the activity of continuous development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party, between our peoples and countries.

It is well known that relations of close collaboration and friendship have always existed between our peoples. The Romanian and Bulgarian revolutionaries and patriots closely collaborated and helped each other in the fight against foreign oppression and domination, for freedom and independence, for social and national justice, and for a better life.

In the years of socialist construction these old traditional relations have witnessed new development in all fields, being based on full equality, mutual esteem and respect, and on the principles and lofty ideals of socialism.

I wish to emphasize with much satisfaction, in this framework too, the particular contribution made to the development of the Romanian-Bulgarian relations by the summit meetings and talks and by the agreements and actions established together. I should like to lay particular stress on your important role, dear Comrade Zhivkov, in the development of these relations of collaboration and friendship.

Our entire party and the Romanian people are highly appreciative of the manysided Romanian-Bulgarian collaboration and are resolved to work in all firmness to improve it. The cooperation in production, the Giurgui-Ruse joint enterprise, the new development prospects in the hydroelectric power engineering, metallurgy, chemistry and in machine-building powerfully prove the great progress made in the development of relations between our countries. The fact that these relations are an example of collaboration between neighbouring and friendly socialist countries, which actively collaborate with one another and with other socialist countries to ensure the triumph of socialism, enhance the welfare and happiness of their peoples and ever more powerfully assert the superiority of socialism in the world.

I should also like to mention the active collaboration of our countries on an international plane, within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, with the European countries, with all states of the world to build a world that will ensure each people's right to free development, a world without wars, a world of peace.

In this framework, an important role is played by our collaboration in the Balkans, by the action of developing relations with all Balkan countries in order to achieve manysided collaboration, to turn our region into a zone of good neighbourhood and peaceful coexistence, without nuclear weapons and foreign military bases.

Once again I thank you, Dear Comrade Zhivkov, the BCP Central Committee and the Council of State and Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for the distinction awarded and the congratulations extended to me.

I assure you that our party, Central Committee, State Council and government, as well as myself personally will work to implement our party-state policy and will continue to do everything to further develop Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation to the benefit of our parties and peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

I take this opportunity to extend to you, the Communists and all the friendly Bulgarian people warmest wishes for health, happiness, progress and prosperity, as well as for new successes in developing friendly Bulgaria, building the developed socialist society and ensuring the Bulgarian people's well-being and happiness.

Comrade Zhivkov, I thank you again. (applause)

Zhivkov Hosts Dinner

AU251043 Sofia BTA in English 0912 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Test] Burgas, Feb 25 /BTA spec corr/ -- Last night Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, gave a formal dinner for Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and Romania's president, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceasescu presented toasts. They emphasized that their current meeting which was the 30th in the course of 18 years, just like the previous ones, would give a fresh impetus to the further development of the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Romanian Communist Party, between Bulgaria and Romania, between the Bulgarian and the Romanian peoples.

They expressed the conviction that the talks would contribute to consolidating the unity of the socialist countries, to extending the goodneighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans, to healing the peace and security in Europe and in the world.

Talks Continue; Agreements noted

AU251958 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] Borislaw Dzhamdzhiev, Sofia radio correspondent, informed us a short while ago that the Bulgarian-Romanian talks had ended at the Perla residence. We carry his report on the second day of the friendly visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu to Bulgaria.

[Begin Dzhamdzhiev recording] Accompanied by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Romanian guests this morning visited the petrochemical combine near Burgas. At a meeting in the party regional committee, they were acquainted with the organization of the combine's work and with the ties which the combine has with similar Romanian enterprises. Following this, Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu and those accompanying them visited some of the new production capacities of the petrochemical combine. In the afternoon the talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu continued at the Perla residence near Primorsko. Representatives of the parties and governments of the two countries accompanying the first leaders also attended the talks. A number of agreements were specified and further initiatives for further developing Bulgarian-Romanian cooperation in various spheres were outlined. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. This visit is a continuation of the 15-year tradition of meetings and talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu, a factor of decisive importance for the fruitful development of relations between the two neighboring socialist countries, relations that are permanently built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Four months after the last Sofia meeting, the present talks again confirmed Comrade Todor Zhivkov's assessment that these meetings have always contributed to the further development of the political, economic and cultural relations between our countries in the name of strengthening Bulgarian-Romanian friendship and in the name of socialism and peace. [end recording]

Visit Ends; Ceausescus Depart

AU261421 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] The friendly visit which Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu paid to Bulgaria at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov ended today. Our special correspondent in Burgas, Borislav Dzhamdzhiev, reports:

[Begin recording] Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov held talks following the 3-day visit at the Perla residence near Primorsko. Views on matters of bilateral relations and on topical international problems were exchanged. Talks between the two leaders were also held at the Perla residence. The talks were attended on the Bulgarian side by Comrades Petur Mladenov; Andrey Lukanov; Niko Yakhiel, assistant to the BCP secretary general; Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the Burgas Okrug BCP Committee; and Todor Stoychev, Bulgarian ambassador to Romania. Elena Ceausescu and the party and government officials accompanying the Romanian leader attended on the Romanian side. During the talks, the two countries expressed mutual aspirations to continue expanding and deepening the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation in the interest of both peoples and in the interest of peace in the Balkans, Europe and the world. The importance of Bulgarian-Romanian relations was emphasized for the Warsaw Pact member-countries [word indistinct] Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction with (?the results) of the talks they had. [words indistinct] the Romanian guests were seen off at Burgas Airport by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. [end recording]

CHNOUPEK ON DETAILS OF NONAGGRESSION OFFER

PM250847 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 21 Feb 83 p 9

[Interview with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek by Max Leon in Prague -- date not given]

[Text] Prague, February -- The leaders of the seven Warsaw Pact socialist countries made a series of proposals to the Western countries during the conference which they held in Prague a little over 1 month ago. In France most major sections of the media (at best) noted the "nonaggression pact" formula from that summit and hurriedly described it as "an old story." LE MONDE wrote: "A new costume for old proposals."

In fact, the Warsaw Pact Political Committee statement is a practical program for organizing peace and security on the continent and detente in East-West relations. It resumed the idea of a treaty, but also formulates precise pledges and lines which would turn it into a real peace pact with universal dimensions.

A crucial aspect of the statement often "forgotten" by the Western press is that the balanced disarmament proposals are accompanied by monitoring measures, including international means.

The European socialist countries' leaders have asked the Czechoslovak Government to report to the other countries and to prepare for the forthcoming ministerial committee meeting. I asked Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to comment on the main aspects of the proposed treaty and to explain how the 4-5 January "summit" will be followed up.

In their Prague statement, the minister stressed, the top-level representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states formulated the principles which should be included in the proposed treaty. Of course, one of the essential provisions would be the pledge not to resort to military force against one another or against other countries. The same principle is already featured in other international documents like the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. But it is included in them in general terms, whereas the proposed treaty would give it the character of a contractual pledge -- in particular, a specific pledge not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons.

[Question] What other obligations are envisaged for the treaty's signatories?

[Answer] One which would, for instance, prohibit the use of military force against other countries' units, ships, aircraft and spacecraft. Also the obligation not to endanger sea, air and space communications.

When numerous hotbeds of tension and conflicts still exist in the world, the problem of international communication routes is in fact a very tricky one.

[Question] Can assurances in principle, however important they might be, suffice?

[Answer] The treaty would oblige its signatories to jointly study practical measures for averting the danger of surprise attacks. Thus, it is not just a question of a promise not to use force but of a crucial measure leading to a change in relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO organizations.

We do not regard the conclusion of a treaty as an end in itself. Experience of the period between the two world wars shows that even solemn assurances do not prevent conflict. Therefore, the Warsaw organization countries are proposing that the future treaty specify the obligation to negotiate in good faith, to draw up measures to end the arms race, to reduce arms and to establish mutual confidence.

[Question] Who would be the partners in the negotiations and then in the agreement?

[Answer] We took account of reality, of the specific nature of current international relations, of the situation of all countries -- both those which are members of political and military alliances and others. That is why, while proposing that the treaty in question be concluded between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, we declare that other states could also be its coauthors and cosignatories. And from the start the treaty itself would be open to subscription by countries throughout the world on an equal basis. Thus, in our view this proposal offers a realistic alternative to the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

[Question] What progress has been made in preparing the actual draft treaty?

[Answer] In the Prague declaration we listed the essential principles which that treaty should contain. We are at present carefully studying and analyzing the positions and remarks made by the different governments. The foreign ministers' committee which will meet during the second half of this year will draft the text taking account of those observations.

HUSAK THANKS HENG SAMRIN FOR BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

BK241240 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 23 Feb 83

[Text] Recently, Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, sent a message of thanks to Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State. The message said, among other things:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your personal salutations and congratulations on my 70th birthday. I highly appraise your lofty consideration for my work. I regard this as confirmation of your evaluation of the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the achievements of the Czechoslovak people in their efforts for national construction and their contribution to developing the bonds of friendship and all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Kampuchea.

On this auspicious occasion, I would like to express my firm conviction that these relations will further develop fruitfully in all aspects. May the Kampuchean people enjoy new victories in strengthening and defending their revolutionary achievements and in their struggle to build a new society in Kampuchea.

May the beloved comrade enjoy good health and more victories in your lofty mission.

DEFENSE MINISTER DZUR LEAVES FOR AFRICAN TOUR

LD280922 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 28 Feb 83

[Text] Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, left Prague by air today for official, friendly visits to Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. At Ruzyne Airport in Prague the minister of national defense and members of his entourage were seen off by representatives of the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army and representatives of diplomatic missions of friendly African countries in Czechoslovakia.

U.S.-EGYPT MANEUVERS CAUSE 'CONCERN' IN MIDEAST

AU221615 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 83 p 6

[Stanislav Stepanek commentary in the column "Note": "Not Just a Run-of-the Mill Exercise"]

[Text] Joint Egyptian-American maneuvers have begun in the immediate vicintiy of Libya. In view of the two countries' close collaboration including the military sphere, this fact would seem to be nothing out of the ordinary. However, in the present case a number of circumstances give this kind of maneuver an aspect of provocation and pressure.

Let us recall that after coming to the White House, President Reagan made Libya and M. al-Qadhdhafi into a bastion of what he calls international terrorism. In March 1981 the U.S. 6th fleet violated Libya's territorial waters; in July of the same year the American magazine NEWSWEEK announced that the CIA director had approved a campaign against the top Libyan representative and that the United States had abrupyly broken off the activities of its companies in Libya. In maneuvers similar to the current ones, American fighter planes shot down two Libyan reconnaissance planes in Libyan air space in August 1981.

This kind of provocation is evoking justified concern not only in Libya, but also throughout an area in which any conflict can serve as a detonator in view of the current situation in the Middle East.

Reagan's "Libyan pretext" has led to increased U.S. military deliveries to Sudan, Egypt and Tunisia; it has also become a camouflage for "justifying" the American military penetration into the area. Even the present maneuvers are being justified by the White House as a reply to "Libya's military preparations." Such an argument naturally has feet of clay. It strives to suggest to the world that Libya is preparing to attack Egypt, or else Sudan. In other words, to suggest that the Egyptian Army, which is 10 times larger than the Libyan one, would be incapable of successfully defending itself against any possible [eventualni) Libyan attack (which is merely a Washington fabrication) without American assistance.

But the reality is, of course, quite different. The gradual penetration of the American Army -- starting in Morocco and ending in Libya -- is intended to fill in the gaps in which neither the United States nor NATO has military bases, and thus conclude the real undermining and military encirclement of the area to which Washington assigns priority in its power interests.

DAILY LAMENTS ARREST OF IRANIAN TUDEH LEADERS

AU221652 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1[illegible] Feb 83 p 5

[Commentary by Julius P. Loerincz in the column "On the Margin": "Sincere Patriots and Revolutionaries"]

[Text] Bitter news has reached us from Tehran on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the revolutionary coup d'etat in Iran in which the shah's reactionary regime -- one of the closest allies of American imperialism in Southwest Asia and the Middle East -- was overthrown. This week it was officially confirmed in the Iranian capital that a group of leading representatives of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), headed by Nureddin Kianuri, secretary general of the party's Central Committee, had been arrested.

This news is all the sadder and more dramatic since the comrades from the Tudeh Party were among the most harshly persecuted during the years of the shah monarchy and, after the coup d'etat of February 1979, had not only supported with all their might the positive tendencies of the Islamic religious movement heading the revolutionary movement, but as the true revolutionaries and patriots that they are, contributed with constructive work to the effort to stabilize the first steps and achievements of the anti-imperialist, antidictatorship and popular revolution in Iran.

True, it is no secret that the revolutionary processes in Iran are frequently very complicated since they are influenced by the idiosyncrasies of Islam and marked both by the class struggle in the Islamic movement itself and by the unceasing political, economic and ideological subversion of reactionary forces from without: forces which have not become reconciled to the loss of their positions after the shah's downfall. Comrade Ehsan Tabari [name as received], member of the Tudeh Party's leadership (he, too, was arrested), wrote in a remarkable, and so far probably the best informed article on the role of religion in the Iranian revolution, published last year in the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM No 12, that "much time will be needed for the honorable Muslims to acquire experience and to learn how to distinguish the friends of the revolution from its enemies both in their own country as well as abroad. This is not simple in a situation in which the enemies of the revolution are attacking along the entire front."

The attack against the leadership of the People's Party of Iran regrettably confirms these words; and one cannot help seeing that 4 years after the shah's downfall the Iranian revolution is at a dangerous crossroads on which the conservative wing of the Muslim clergy is trying -- to the great joy, above all, of Washington -- to monopolize its power as well as all ideas on the organization of society. In other words, it is as the Soviet publicist Dmitriy Volskiy wrote in NOVA DOBA even prior to the reprehensible arrest of the leaders of the People's Party of Iran: "The political, antimonarchist and anti-imperialist revolution has not yet turned into a social revolution; it is still marking time at the beginning of the long new road." Where will this road lead in the near future? A crossroads offers several possibilities....

FINNISH TU DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

Talks Held With Hoffmann

LD240235 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 23 Feb 83

[Text] A delegation of the Central Organization of the Finnish Trade Unions, headed by Chairman Pertti Viinanen, has arrived for an official visit. Today the delegation held talks with Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Husak, Hoffman Meet Finnish Official

LD252151 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] At Prague Castle today Gustav Husak, president of the republic, received a delegation from the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions led by its chairman, Pertti Viinanen. Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, was present. They discussed current experiences in trade union work and further possibilities for cooperation between the two countries in areas of common interest. They emphasized the importance of the trade union movement as a great social and international force which can make a significant contribution to positively solving mankind's fundamental problems, particularly the struggle for peace and security throughout the world.

Final Talks With Hoffmann

LD252146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] A Central Trade Union Council delegation, headed by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, and a delegation of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions, headed by its chairman, Pertti Viinanen, met in Prague today for final talks. They noted that the visit contributed to the further intensification and improvement of mutual cooperation. The delegations singled out the importance of all initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and international cooperation and spoke in favor of the continuation of the process of relaxation of tension. The representatives of both delegations signed a plan for cooperation between their respective trade union organizations for the period 1983-84.

Visit Concludes; Delegation Departs

LD261811 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] A delegation of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions, headed by its chairman, Pertti Viinaen, today ended an official visit to Czechoslovakia and returned to Finland. The delegation was seen off at the airport by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Communique Issued

LD280015 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Feb 83

[Text] A joint communique has been adopted following the visit to the CSSR by the official delegation of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions at the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

The communique states that the two delegations exchanged experiences of the activities of the trade union organizations in their countries and agreed on the further expansion of cooperation. The two sides support all the initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and international cooperation. They also expressed their support for the proposals for creating nuclear-free zones in north and central Europe.

BENO ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS ON PARTY ISSUES

LD240032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 23 Feb 83

[Text] Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke at the meeting with journalists in Prague today about current issues of party work, and in particular, about the course of the Communists' annual meetings. He said that the annual meetings are an important next step toward elaboration and securing of the program of the 16th party congress. He spoke about their great importance not only for the party, but all of society, because the meetings deal with key issues of further social development. Following the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session, the party organizations set concrete targets and measures for securing the comprehensive, fluent fulfillment of the set tasks of higher economy and efficiency. The path to achieving these aims, as the annual party meetings have confirmed yet again, is through deepening the party's influence over the economy, application of the right of control, increasing the role of Communists in working collectives and in the purposeful advancement of working people's activity and initiative.

Mikulas Beno went on to speak about the need for continuously increasing the standard of work in the party's basic organizations, and for strengthening the united influence of ideological, educational, political and organizational activity. He pointed to the fact that the criterion for assessing the standard of the party's work is, in particular, that of the results attained by the party organizations in securing the program of the congress.

HRUSKOVIC SPEAKS AT SLOVAK SCIENTIFIC GATHERING

LD262101 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] The Slovak congress of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society began in Bratislava today. The congress is evaluating the results of the creative and organizational activities of this organization during the past 5-year period.

In the main report Juraj Sedlak, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society, stressed that the coming period will place substantially higher demands on the performance, quality and effectiveness of the work of the organization. The key task of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society will continue to be combining the work of scientists, economic and technical workers and the creativity of members of the society in tackling the most important scientific and technical problems and in speeding up the application in production of advances in science and technology.

Among those who spoke in the ensuing debate was Miloslav Hruskovic, the head of the delegation of the CPSL and the Slovak government, alternate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, who said, among other things:

[Begin recording] The goal to raise effectiveness and quality, which depends on the realization of scientific and technological development, is not an easy one and will call for a change in the attitude and thinking of our working people, greater knowledge, innovation, strong will, initiative and discipline, and very close cooperation between the scientific and technical intelligentsia and the working class. This will also call for changes in the attitudes towards the setting of the aims of scientific, technological and economic development.

Our people have succeeded, under the leadership of the CPCZ in carrying out two epoch-making transformations in our economic and social structure; socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. Today we are facing an equally important socially historical task: to combine the advantages of socialism with the scientific and technological revolution in the interest of the dynamic development of the economy and as a prerequisite to raising the living standards of our people.

Carrying out these demanding plans is dependent not only on how well we master the tasks we set for ourselves in sciences, in basic or applied research, but chiefly on how quickly their results will be realized in practice in production. Our current generation of scientists, technologists and workers has a historic opportunity, but also a duty, to initiate revolutionary changes in the sciences and to carry them out through technology in production. [end recording]

JARUZELSKI, WOZNIAK ADDRESS WARSAW PZPR SESSION

LD262031 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] The Warsaw PZPR accountability-program conference began at 0900 today at the Marcelu Nowotko engineering enterprise. The debates were opened by Marian Wozniak, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw party committee. Also at the conference were Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers and the following Central Committee Poliburo members: Miroslaw Milewski, Central Committee secretary; Stefan Olszowski, minister for foreign affairs; and Albin Siwak. Also present were Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee; Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon; Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda; and ministers, deputies, and veterans of the workers movement.

Taking part in the conference were Mieczyslaw Szostek, chairman of the Warsaw People's Council; Lieutenant General Mieczyslaw Debicki, mayor of the metropolitan city of Warsaw; Adolf Ciborowski, chairman of the Warsaw Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement of the Warsaw Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; and representatives of the voivodship organizations of the ZSL and SD.

The 155,000-member Warsaw party organization is represented at the debates by 372 delegates from all milieus of Warsaw and the metropolitan voivodship.

The report by the Warsaw PZPR Executive Committee was read by Marian Wozniak. It assesses the party's activity during the period from 30 June 1981 to the end of December last year. The 18 months were months of struggle against the political opponents of the party and the Polish socialist state; of creating conditions for the realization of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress; and of activity aimed at the introduction and correct implementation of the economic reform.

Also discussed in the report is the current socioeconomic situation of Warsaw and the metropolitan voivodship. It stresses that a positive effect was the halting in the latter half of last year of the decline in industrial production in the metropolitan conurbation. Much attention was devoted to matters of such importance for the Warsaw community as housing construction, the health service, trade and services, education and upbringing.

In the discussion it was stressed that the Warsaw party organization, in the constant struggle against its opponents, has consolidated itself and gained the opportunity to take effective action. The party organizations ought to become representatives of the work forces. Attention was drawn to the need for the party to conduct a class policy, a policy aimed at implementing the principles of social justice.

The participants adopted a critical attitude towards the current money market situation which is characterized by a large quantity of money on the market without the backing of goods, toward the decision concerning the possibility of early retirement which has caused significant personnel shortages in many enterprises and in the state railways, as well as toward various decisions connected with the implementation of the economic reform.

In view of the need for further struggle against the political opponents, it is necessary to expose their real goals and to consistently return to the ideological sources and principles of socialism. A top priority task is to act on all levels to systematically streamline the economy. The living standard of the working people and the social mood depend on this.

Wozniak Delivers Report

LD262339 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 26 Feb (PAP) -- An accountability conference of the Warsaw PZPR organization, the last in a series of voivodship report-back conferences, took place on 26 February.

A report of the Warsaw PZPR Executive Committee was delivered by Marian Wozniak. We have arrived at this report-back conference, he said, after a period of hard struggle for the party and for the socialist state. Together we drew up the program of the ninth congress, fighting at the same time for the correct development of internal party issues. The aktiv of the Warsaw party organization is well acquainted with the activities and the present configuration of the enemies of socialism. Various social and professional groups have displayed their ideological and political delusions and weaknesses. Among them is a fairly large proportion of the intelligentsia -- above all, those connected with the humanities. One must not, however, generalize. This does not apply to entire groups.

We in the Warsaw party organization must take it upon ourselves to carry out the slogan "In this direction, but not the same path" in a way that will have true meaning in every day experience. Belonging to the capital of the country does not give us the right to any discounts. On the contrary, it imposes on us the obligation to be a model and to show great responsibility.

The Warsaw party organization, although it is smaller than it was 2 years ago, is more closely rallied around the program of the ninth congress.

The report-back campaign which today's conference concludes, the speaker continued, has provided the Warsaw party organization with fuller assessments and analyses. This campaign was different from the one carried out 2 years ago. During the latter we fought for the existence of the party; now we fight for the quality and effectiveness of party work. What we have achieved only amounts to the first step of the necessary attack at all party levels.

The speaker regarded the most important factor in the successful implementation of the program of renewal to be the struggle against the manifestation of any form of evil, especially social injustice, greed, accumulation of wealth at public expense, egoism, and the preference of personal interests over the good of the country. The Warsaw party organization takes the view, the speaker said, that the cost of the liquidation of the crisis should be distributed in a just manner.

M. Wozniak said that personnel policy is an important part of the leading role of the PZPR. In this policy it is necessary to follow the criteria of competence and public activity with regard to non-party members.

Referring to the international situation, especially the revanchist tendencies in the policy of the FRG Government, the first secretary of the Warsaw committee said: Throughout the post-war decades the word peace was linked with Warsaw. Many times peaceful initiatives and peaceful appeals to the international public originated here in Warsaw. The capital of Poland has made its contribution to a number of measures aimed at strengthening peace and cooperation among peoples. We are proud of this and shall further strengthen this reputation.

In the course of the discussion the participants noted with anxiety that in many utterances and in the press it is possible to come across assessments which are too optimistic as regards the political reality in Poland of 1983 and the ideological situation of the party itself.

It is true, it was said, that the enemies of socialism are at present acting with less resolve than a year ago. This, however, does not mean that they have accepted defeat. The complacency of some of the party organizations and the increased listing of achievements, albeit genuine, lead to ideological disarmament at a time when full mobilization of resources is still necessary. Much time was spent discussing the problems of science, culture, and art. Examples were cited in evidence of the increase in the number of well-known non-party scholars and personalities in the world of culture who take the side of the interests of the socialist state.

At the end of the debate, which lasted several hours, a speech was made by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers. He summed up the results of the report-back campaign in the PZPR, emphasizing that it had proved that the strength of the party lies in its link with the working class, the working people.

Discussing economic problems, the head of the government noted that the best way to protect the country from inflation is found in higher labor productivity, larger output, economic use of raw and other materials, and better organization of production resources. He emphasized the importance of the housing program and promised that these issues will be tackled in the immediate future with redoubled energy.

Speaking of the external conditions affecting the development of Poland, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said that it is only within the confines of a strong democratic and socialist state that independent and prosperous existence can be ensured.

Jaruzelski Addresses Conference

LD271839 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1705 GMT 27 Feb 83

[Speech by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at an accountability-program conference of the Warsaw PZPR organization in Warsaw on 26 February -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Today the end of the Warsaw conference marks the end of the report-back campaign. It is the party's greatest political campaign since its ninth congress. The Warsaw organization, like the whole party, traversed an extraordinarily difficult path over that period. It has passed the test of defending socialism, struggling for ideological identity, developing intraparty democracy, and strengthening organizational discipline. These issues were elaborated in the report delivered by Comrade Wozniak. They were extensively enlarged upon in the discussion. The report confirmed the appraisal that the party is regaining strength and that, proceeding from the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and creatively taking the realities of our concrete, Polish situation into account, the party confirms its ability to lead and discharge its vanguard role in action. It would be premature to venture into extensive and full appraisals of the entire report-back campaign today. The complete compilation of the materials, the thorough analysis of them, and the subsequent summarizing require more time. We will, however, carry out this work as soon as we can. Subsequently, we shall familiarize the entire party with it according to the proper procedures.

Today we can state with full confidence that the report-back campaign constituted a grand and all-round examination of the state of the party. It strengthened it, breathed life into its ranks. At the same time dangers, reserves, and weaknesses were revealed. The correctness and vitality of the ninth congress' program was totally confirmed during the campgian. At the current stage of the struggle for socialist renewal, for strengthening socialism, this program invariably constitutes the best guideline approved by the whole of the party; it constitutes an unshakable platform whereby the party's unity is being consolidated.

The campaign reflected the concern to deepen democratism and to simultaneously strengthen discipline and increase efficiency in the party's activities.

The party organizations' places and roles in their respective milueus have been assessed. It has been confirmed that the strength of the party lies above all in its bond with the working class, the working people. There is still a lot to be done in this sphere. There is still a lot ahead of us. Nevertheless, nobody can deny that during this extremely difficult report-back period the party was actively involved in the issues that are important for the workforces of plants and individual milieus.

Starting with Central Committee plenary sessions and ending with every party activist's activities, concern for the country's affairs, for its economy, and the working people's living conditions, has been predominant. We are deeply convinced that the party is and must be actively present wherever things that are significant for both the working class and the nation are happening. Its members must be there. At the same time this presence is not merely for privileges or awards, It arises from a sense of responsibility. It should express itself in an active civic stance; in above average work, in party members' and the activists' participation in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], trade unions, employees' self-managements, and social organuzations. It is connected with the need for all party echelons, organizations and members to be sensitive to every human issue, evil -- of which there is still plenty around us -- and the need to decisively defend all social and state interests.

Against this background I would like to emphasize the great significance the party attaches to considering the citizens' complaints, proposals, and letters. Last year the ninth Central Committee plenum expressed this in a special resolution. Party and administrative activities arising from that resolution have started to bring about noticable progress. It is impermissible for these activities to be weakened. It is the party's moral and political duty to make everyday human worries and initiatives the subject of profound interest, common concern, and supreme good will. No right human cause can lose. Each defeat of a right cause is a defeat of the party. The party's leading role in the state is the core of the political system, the Constitution, and the system as a whole. Old and new experiences have taught us a lot. In fulfilling this role the party should build its real businesslike authority. It should strengthen its position in a plant, in a milieu, on the basis of understanding and respecting its rignts and, above all, on the basis of the approval and implementation of its line and program.

In the extremely complex situation the atypical setup of martial law or its suspension, the forms of leadership and cooperation between all bodies of power are being molded and perfected and are attaining increasing political culture. Here it is necessary to emphasize the great achievement of the party's cooperation with allied parties, associations of lay Catholics, and non-party-affiliated milieus. The difficult, dramatic time has verified and endorsed our alliances and has enriched them with new values, clearly demonstrating that our socialist patriotic front is indestructable. The PRON will undoubtedly play a great role in deepening and broadening this achievement. The party treats its position with the utmost seriousness.

What, in turn, can we say of the party's leading role in the community? It is most fully expressed when the party is active among, through, and, above all, for people, the working class, and the nation. Confirmation of this in life, in everyday practice, is the best way to increase social trust and the party's prestige and position. The 5-month-long report-back campaign has permitted an in-depth self-assessment, an analysis of the deployment of the party's forces and its members' fulfillment of the statutory obligations.

Persons who are ideologically and politically alien to us have been eliminated: those who are concerned only for their own careers and who violate party and statutory norms. Some of them have deserted; moreover, they have taken up a position on the other side of the barricade. We have unequivocally politically and morally judged these. Passive people have also departed -- people who have succumbed to pressures and ideologically or pyschologically broken down; they simply could not keep up the pace. We do not consider all those who now find themselves outside the party to be its opponents. Some of them even express the desire to rejoin our ranks. For this facts are needed and time is required. Many also act in the new trade union, the self-management bodies, and the PRON. We treat them as allies of the party.

The party continues to be a large, mass party. Irrespective of the varying levels of its members' activity, one thing is certain: all have been through the most difficult times with the party card. In this sense they are combatants in a particularly sharp class struggle. It is impossible, however, not to notice that a number of party organizations are still not sufficiently active. This must change. The time for reflection and moderation is over. The vanguard and the leading role have their requirements. Anyone who does not feel up to it, who does not have enough will, does not have to remain in the party ranks. Today is the time for all party organizations to rebuild their activeness in full, and go over to a political offensive.

The party must more strongly stress its revolutionary character, its second youth. We are pleased that more people have begun to join the party and that 58 percent of the new members are young people, under 29. A great part has been and still is played by the party activists. They deserve respect and recognition. In the most difficult moments, in face of the greatest danger, they were unreservedly dedicated to the socialist cause, for better or worse.

At that time their major task was rescuing the party's identity, its organizational backbone. Today this task has a wider -- let us call it an external -- dimension. What matters is increasing activists' efficiency in stimulating party members and, in particular, the non-party masses to action designed to win the largest possible number of honest people, patriots desiring the good of the country, for the cause of socialism. Even if not everyone realizes it, we walk the same road as these people, as there is no other road to Poland's prosperity.

In order to reach this goal party echelons, organizations, and activists must be resolute in the battle against the enemy and undermine his designs and actions that are detrimental to Poland and socialism. On the other hand, the party must be especially sensitive to even the smallest trends towards the revival of all that leads to the violation of Leninist norms, conceit and soullessness, abuse of one's position, moral degeneration, and giving priority to special interests.

We must be uncompromising in these matters. In the past this state of affairs reigned supreme and the cost to the party and socialism was too great. These mistakes must never, never, be allowed again. We have every right to be pleased when we compare the situation that existed several months ago with the current state of affairs, but we should not be pleased. Nor can we be pleased. There is still an enormous amount of work and huge difficulties ahead of us. There are still many weaknesses to overcome. There are different class and community interests and views and beliefs within Polish society. The progress of constructing the new mentality is a very lengthy one. Naturally this process is slower than the process of creating the foundations of the system and material existence.

As a rule, any attempts to speed up these transformations artificially or by force end badly. On the other hand, the reason we are communists is that we can be the forward based unit that moves about in the foreground of social consciousness, as it were.

The struggle for this consciousness must be waged daily, everywhere, and in each community. At the same time we must not yield to superficial emotions and take up arms if and when necessary. The party's strength and its efficiency as the leading force is measured by the extent to which each of its members, and, all the more so, each of its activists, acts as if the management of the whole party and the whole of the state depended upon him personally.

This has a particular point and significance here in Warsaw. Against this backdrop it should be emphasized that the report-back campaign has shown that there great reserves still exist, for example, in the party's energy and militancy which have still not been put fully to use. The campaign has shown that the vigor with which our resolutions and programs are implemented does not match those reserves, and that the effectiveness of the party's action, sharpness, and, I would even say, aggressiveness, in the struggle against all evil, especially around itself, where it is nearest at hand, is still inadequate.

Here I would wish to appeal for concrete support for participation in the stepped-up campaign to observe the principles of justice and social morality, to combat any and all deformations and to struggle for the purity of the country's life in the broadest sense of the term. This applies to a considerable extent to our capital where, as far as this is concerned, things are not, fortunately, as good as they could be. The title of state capital is an honor; first and foremost, however, it is a duty, the center of the country's administration. The party and the government attach great weight to improving the work of the administration. We have done a great deal in this direction. There have been thorough changes, statutory regulations, and organizational reform solutions. The central administration has been seriously cut back. There have been numerous and frequently important changes in high-ranking posts. In all, this should serve the cause of an increasingly improving implementation of the administration's inalienable duties: service to the state and society. In particular it must respect, actively protect, and create conditions for the development of democratic civil rights. It is also its duty to ensure that state discipline is observed, and citizens' duties and the duties of those in employment are carried out.

The process of improving the administration is a continuous one. What we wish for is that, while serving the state and society, it should enjoy complete social recognition and that it should have a high vocational prestige. The past period was an extraordinarily hard test for it, as well as for others. As an organizational structure of socialist statehood it was subject to particular pressures. The greater part of the administration did pass this test. Today, despite various shortcomings and weaknesses, it carries out its duties even more efficiently. But this is an ongoing process. In particular, the party must be vigilant so that the cadres policy in this sphere corresponds as fully as possible with the interests of the socialist state, so that the selection of people is solid and objective, so that ideological, moral, and professional demands made on officials should increase and so that their training and improvement should be systematic, increasingly reaching a higher standard. The system of reviewing cadres which was initiated last year serves these objectives. Its next phase, which will be more thorough as regards its practical value and the methods used, will take place in the second quarter of this year.

Comrades, during the party conference in Katowice I spoke about the great nationwide role of the working class and its position in a socialist state. Today I would like to complement this by citing, above all, its traditional proletarian code, the natural creator of the ethical norms of socialism arising from its understanding of justice, of its habit of collective action, its sense of social strength. At the same time, a significant role in popularizing the new socialist awareness is played by a social group which is mostly involved in a professional sense, because of the nature of its education: the intelligentsia.

The difficult situation that has arisen in this sphere is well known. Warsaw is the largest center for the intelligentsia and intellectuals in the country as far as the number of people is concerned. It is impossible to say, however, that it radiates onto the rest of the country as an unqualified good example. This is the truth. At the same time, it is necessary to maintain the ability to judge soberly and objectively. Not infrequently impetuous voices can be heard. An accusation is made: the members owe their education to the efforts of the working class; they owe their career opportunities to People's Poland; the intelligentsia has forgotten its roots; it has gone over to the enemy camp.

Generalizations of this kind are one-sided and unfair. The intelligentsia basically feels linked with socialism, both out of profound conviction and also, at least, because of the fact that it cocreates and functions in the structures of the People's state. The intelligentsia has always played an important role among the working people. It is playing that role today, too.

How many good directors and engineers -- affiliated with the party or otherwise -- there are. How many devoted teachers, doctors, social activists, excellent journalists, talented and courageous scientists, and artists there are. Often one needs a lot of courage and a strong will to resist the pressures of colleagues. However, it is a sad fact that precisely among certain circles of the intelligentsia, in particular the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, adverse changes have taken place in recent years. In some cases one could almost define them as devastation. In parts of these milieus antisocialist and retrogressive views have taken root, which are sometimes almost embarrassing with their primitive one-sidedness and obstinacy. There has to be concern with the number of educated people participating, especially during the past period, in antistate activities. It is difficult not to feel outrage at the well-known cases of the use of some state educational centers and higher education establishments to transmit messages alien to socialism, to cause conflicts of conscience, and thus to cripple the young ideologically and morally. However, it would not be advisable to indulge in simplistic judgements.

In some milieus of the intelligentsia we are dealing with obviously hostile, adventurist, and destructive activity. The appropriate administrative measures are and must be the indispensable argument against these activities. Here consistency is needed.

We are also dealing with a confusion of concepts, political naivete, a sort of milieu solidarism [pol solidaryzm srodowiskowy]. The enemy has put these milieus under propaganda agitation. He applies all means ranging from flattery to threats, from material temptations to slander, from disinformation to provocation. He knows that the possibility of manipulation, of reaching other social groups, younger citizens in particular, depends on disarming these opinion-forming milieus and winning them over.

The struggle against socialism is not waged on only an ad hoc basis. It has a strategic character. Today it is easy to wield antisocialist demagogy on the economic plane, since it is precisely here that the well-known burdens and weaknesses are most painfully felt. This will be more difficult when we get more firmly on our feet. Therefore, the opponent tries to employ all the methods available in order, if one can call it so, to sabotage socialism in people's minds in advance, preemptively. Let us recall how once the bourgeois propaganda frightened people with the 17th republic, or a communist sharing of wives. [as heard] Today on the same basis they frighten us with eternal crisis and the unreformability of socialism.

Bearing the specific nature of the intelligentsia in mind, we must find modes of action to (?combine) skillfully associated firmness and a principled stand with patience and common sense. Mechanically repressing conflicts, covering them over with the sand of empty phrases and generalities, is not our goal, but it is also not expedient to make a demon out of them, to raise the value of the goods sold by the various salesmen of antisocialism.

It is fundamental to speak about this openly, unequivocally, and with the visor raised. Many years' experience, particularly the achievements of the immediate postwar years, indicates that only an honest, straightforward bearing allows the long-term gaining of credibility, respect and trust in the eyes of the intelligentsia.

These are, after all, milieus that are traditionally profoundly patriotic. It is they who took part and jointly created the great sociocivilizational and cultural-educational advancement of People's Poland.

Today they face yet another historical opportunity and duty: active and creative participation in getting Poland out of the crisis and returning to the road of progress and modernity. The great intellectual potential represented by these milieus should be fully tapped. There are still great possibilities here. This is, among other things, testified to by the fact that the number of patented inventions in 1982 is somewhat higher than it was in 1981, but it is considerably below the 1978 figure. At the same time one should note with satisfaction that a considerable number of scientific workers, technological and economic intelligentsia and other specialties successfully embark on various research and activities to arrive at our own national solutions, which are so imperative in conditions of crisis, including severe restrictions on the import of materials and technology. Let me list only some Warsaw establishments that have concrete achievements on those lines: the precision mechanics institute; the materials engineering institute of the Warsaw Technical University together with the Baildon steelworks; and the pharmaceutical industry institute in conjunction with Polfa works.

The same could be said about the rationalization movement, which implements the so-called small technical progress in everyday production activities. Summarizing this is a wide patriotic field in which every activity will meet with the party's sympathy and support. At the same time I would like to take this opportunity and refer to the postulates put forward during the deliberations to let you know, comrades, that a concept of better coordination and optimum control of this immensely important sphere of activity is well advanced.

The party is also interested in the serious development of humanistic sciences, particularly the political and social ones -- Marxist ones. I think that it would serve a good purpose to organize a national conference of representatives of these sciences after the 12th Central Committee plenum. The party should and will devote greater interest and concern to political and social subjects than it has in the past.

The ninth congress has determined the party stance on culture. Following this path many meaningful decisions were adopted, among them the establishment of the National Council for Culture. The party and socialist state's cultural policy is democratic, overt, and tolerant. Its main objective is the enrichment of the nation's spiritual assets. Creative milieus do not exist just for themselves. Creative activity emerges as the result of the work done by workers and peasants. That is why the worker party regards the so-called internal (?emigration) by a number of representatives of the cultural milieus as unethical. Neither will it reconcile itself with cultural activities tinted with antisocialism, with driving them into an ideological and political wilderness. Culture and art in a socialist state constitute a great national issue, not a little private shop. Sincere recognition should be given to those creators and artists who remained loyal to the duty of promoting culture -- that is, in social service to the working man. At the same time, we do not want to return to the past. Let us, therefore, close this chapter. Let us open one that will not give birth to new conflicts and threats. This will be decided today and tomorrow. In this chapter there is much room and supreme opportunity for socially needed and artistically ambitious, innovative activity. Irrespective of important economic difficulties, the party and the people's state will surround such activity with the necessary protection. The party and people's state will support it constantly. One concrete proof of this was last year's 25 percent increase in the number of books published.

May it please the comrades, the report-back campaign in the party coincides with the drawing up of the balance sheet of the results in socioeconomic activity in 1982 and with the substantiating of targets for the current year. It is understandable and valuable as an expression of party activeness that the state and prospects of the economy and the closely related living and working conditions of society were one of the focal themes of the report-back conferences.

In the recent period particular interest and even emotions have been aroused by the market situation, by the increase of incomes and prices. It is understandable that in conditions of a shortage of goods a just distribution and a class policy in the sharing of the burdens of the crisis come to the fore.

As is known, we are undertaking relevant decisions and activities in this sector. Last year part of the increase in the incomes of population was not covered by a corresponding supply of goods and services. This is not a good situation, nor is it a dangerous situation. If the increase of incomes this year continues to exceed the capabilities of production to the same or higher degree, as well as exceeding the supplies to the market, this indeed would be dangerous to the first signs of stabilization of the home market. We must not allow a spontaneous and uncontrolled development of inflationary processes. They are most acute for the working class and hard-working people as well as retired persons and pensioners. That is why we are raising this issue at the beginning of the year so that by open conversation we can find right now, in consultation with working people, rational and socially approved ways of counteracting the adverse tendencies. Such proposals will be contained in the government program of anti-inflationary actions which will soon be submitted to the Sejm and then implemented. It will define a number of actions and conditions, but their full implementation will depend on the activeness of the leadership cadres of enterprises, on workers' self-managements, on trade unions, and on entire work forces.

A strict policy of saving in the whole economy and administration and a ruthless struggle against poor workmanship, idleness, waste, and low quality are needed. The success of this struggle, and in the final reckoning the level of prices, can and should be directly influenced by each worker, by higher productivity and more production, by saving in raw and finished materials, and by better use of working time. These are the best means of defense against inflation.

On behalf of the Central Committee I appeal to party members, to party organizations and echelons, to initiate and to participate fully in this struggle. An effective obstacle to price increases can be built mainly in the production sector. On the other hand, combating above-plan price increases must be tackled with equal energy by adjusting incomes. In particular, pay for work must be linked better than hitherto with the true increase in production and fall in costs of production. This also applies to all bonuses and awards. It must not be linked with profits gained by artificially inflating prices. Only the joint effects of anti-inflationary actions in the production sector and in incomes will give a final definition to the necessary range of price changes. The greater these effects, the smaller and less felt will be the price changes. Any other attitude is wishful thinking, or more accurately, ordinary demagogy.

The questions, on what scale, and what specific kinds of goods and services should one include among these price rises is thus an issue which is subject to further consultation and discussion. There will be no overhasty and violent price movements. In particular, there is no intention to carry out any universal or dramatic rise in the prices of essential goods, including foodstuffs, even if they are subsidized. Such a suspicion is being suggested by rumor, sometimes by insufficiently precise information, and most frequently by the political opponent who does not forgo any opportunity to sow confusion. This, too, in the discussion on the difficult problem of prices, must not be forgotten, especially by us party members.

We have a bitter awareness of the difficult material situation of working people, of the burdens carried by millions of families and by Polish women. Against this background the phenomena of excessive, unjustified self-enrichment offends the sense of socialist morality. This applies to profiteering, abuses, and bribery. It is a fact -- I have already spoken of this -- that every crisis, including in a socialist country, favors the emergence of the opposite poles of riches and poverty. We cannot accept this. We are seeking and applying even more acutely and broadly various forms of counteraction. We count on greater, specific social support than previously. The effectiveness of this counteraction is still limited but it will steadily grow. As the well-known proverb says: the handle of the jar will break. Similarly, the net is tightening around the so-called parasites. If they fail to take up employment soon they will be sent to an organized front of antiflood and land reclamation actions in the Zulawy region and the Gdansk coast. [applause]

In the report and discussion a significant place was occupied by housing problems. This is hardly surprising. This is one of Poland's greatest social problems. Needs throughout the country, and in Warsaw in particular, are great. This is not overlooked by the party and people's authorities. I shall not characterize generally known indicators, decisions, and programs. They are heading in the right direction. However, the situation still remains bad. Many, frequently long-standing, reasons contribute to this situation. They include objective and not insignificant reasons. The high birth rate in our country, which has existed for many years, is one of these and it is combined with the current adverse accomodation situation.

We have to look for reserves in the subjective sphere, above all. There is a lot to be done here, including in Warsaw Voivodship which cannot boast good results as regards construction work. A drop in the number of newly built apartments in cooperative construction as compared with the previous year is one of the greatest in the country. Warsaw construction enterprises have experienced a drop in productivity accompanied by a rise in remuneration. One can also add that in Warsaw the construction of a typical building took 30 percent longer than the national average. So there is something to ponder upon and, above all, there is something to do.

Housing construction is the extremely extensive subject. It is painful to burden this speech with specific facts connected with this sphere. I can only assure you that shortly we shall look into these matters with redoubled energy. The Ministry of Construction and Building Materials and the government are preparing essential moves and changes in this respect. I believe that they should gradually bring about good results. We also count on the recently passed housing regulations which create additional possibilities as far as acquiring apartments is concerned.

A great national task lies ahead of us. The party must be in the front line of its implementation; the young must also be there. It is no coincidence that I am speaking about this. Even in the best programs, economic mechanism and technology cannot replace man's activeness. His role here is particularly great. Let us remind you of the speed with which Warsaw was rebuilt, that proverbial Varsovian speed. This happened with poor facilities. The brick layers' three-man team, which has been subsequently ridiculed by cynics, or work competition constitute a glorious page in the history of raising our metropolis from the ashes. Today, too, without heart, without enthusaism, and without discipline there can be no good results. This, comrades, is a subject for party and national examination. This is a subject which ought to be treated particularly seriously.

Comrades, Poland is still in the forefront of the attack by extreme forces of imperialism. The exploitation of the Polish subject is a convenient pretext for whipping up the international lack of trust, for promoting the arms race, and for attacks against the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

The adversary wishes to push us into a blind alley of powerlessness, hopelessness, and eternal gloom. If attempts to bring about a violent fratricidal eruption come to nothing, well, let there at least be a smoldering. Maybe a protacted poisoning and overburdening of the state and economic structures of socialist Poland will be successful. Of course this cannot succeed either, but the costs of the crisis, which is becoming more protracted, and the losses incurred in awareness and economy can be great. The party should expose to society this ignominious and brutal mechanism. It strikes a blow against all Poles, irrespective of their world-views and convictions; it strikes a blow against their material well-being and against prospects for normalization. Already once, on 13 December 1981, we proved to be wise before the event. Mindful of the essence of this anti-Polish game, we must also prove to be wise today.

At times, dear comrades, it is good to be able to separate ourselves from the everyday existence and to reflect on what used to happen here before us and what will be happening after we are gone; it is good to do this when troubles and difficulties burden us excessively. Warsaw is an unbeaten city. History recalls numerous heroic upsurges here. Their outcome, as a rule, was tragic. However, at the same time, the very same city which our own generation can still recall as one gigantic pile of rubble has lived through a reconstruction which has been admired the world over. Therefore we have defeat and success, doubts and fervent conviction that we will be equal to the tasks, that we have got what it takes, that we shall emerge victorious; we have the consciousness of defeat and, simultaneously, the feeling of consummation and fulfillment and achievement -- all this happening in Warsaw almost at the same time. It can be said that Warsaw epitomises, in good and evil, the features of the entire Polish community.

The tragedy of the Warsaw uprising and the reconstruction of the devastated city, contrary to common sense, were the fate of one and the same generation and very often of the same people. In the first case, despite the eternal heroism of those who took part in the uprising and the civilian casualties, the defeat was caused by class egoism and erroneous political thinking. In the second case, the party took the lead. It had clearly defined goals; it was able to reach the people, to hold the proverbial gun in one hand and the pick-axe to clear the rubble in the other. It was able to show concern so that its words would really find their way to people's minds and hearts, so that they would make the nation equally conscious of its opportunities and its duties.

We must find such strength of ideological and moral penetration in ourselves today; the party must find it today. This is in the interests of the entire nation, since it is only within a strong, democratic and socialist state that its independent and prosperous existence can be ensured. I listened to today's discussion attentively. It constituted a kind of synthesis of the state of consciousness of the Warsaw party organization, its ideological and political condition. The discussion confirmed that the Warsaw aktiv, its oldest generation that rendered such great services, as well as its youngest generation, is resolutely and consistently acting in the spirit of socialist renewal, for the good of the party and the socialist Poland.

On behalf of the Politburo I wish you, dear comrades, full success in this important work. [applause]

EPISCOPATE ISSUES COMMUNIQUE ON 23-24 FEB PLENUM

LD251821 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 25 Feb 83

["Text" of communique issued by the 190th plenum of the Episcopate of Poland]

[Text] On 23 and 24 February 1983, the 190th plenum of the Episcopate of Poland deliberated in Warsaw. The agenda was compiled by the Main Council of the Episcopate at a session held in Warsaw on 22 February 1983. Both sessions were chaired by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland.

At the beginning of the deliberations, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, metropolitan archbishop of Krakow, gave best wishes on behalf of the assembled bishops to Archbishop Jozef Glemp to mark his elevation to cardinal by Pope John Paul II. The primate of Poland's appointment to the College of Cardinals not only fills the Polish church with joy, but also strengthens the links between us and the Holy See. We will all support the primate in his pastoral service, and in his leadership of the Catholic nation during the present difficult period in our homeland's history.

The holy father, John Paul II, is undertaking a new apostolic journey in the first 10 days of March. The pope wishes to visit the countries of Central America, which are often in a dramatic social situation, in order to strengthen the faith and to teach about life with justice and love. He wants to bring peace and to awaken a sense of human and Christian brotherhood. With fervent prayers and personal mortification and by offering up our daily troubles and sufferings, we will commend the pope to God in his difficult apostolic pilgrimage.

Statements have appeared in the foreign press in recent weeks attacking the holy father and accusing the Holy See of subversive activity, as the statements put it, including against our country. The Polish Episcopate recalls these facts with great pain in order to state that accusations of this kind, obviously groundless, profoundly insult the convictions and feelings of the faithful, for whom the holy father is the supreme moral authority. At the same time, the bishops resolutely state that accusations of this kind harm reconciliation and friendship between the nations and hit out at world peace, of which the holy father is an unremitting herald and for which he strives indefatigably.

The bishops discussed the current state of perparations for the holy father's second pilgrimage to our sacred homeland. Polish society attaches enormous hopes to this pilgrimage, which has been awaited fro many months. The public also counts on at least some of our country's urgent social problems being resolved by that time. There is an expectation that an amnesty will be announced for those setenced for deeds connected with the introduction of martial law in December 1981.

Full social justice is expected for all citizens of the country. These actions will lead to national reconciliation, and to the entire community's participation in the renewal. Everyone should understand the need for national reconciliation, because it is impossible to build our future on hatred, desire for revenge, and violence. Injustice and wrongs which have been suffered should be healed by correcting injustices and wrongs, and by forgiveness. This is the attitude worthy of a Christian nation; it will allow us to concentrate all efforts in order to lead the country out of the most difficult crisis since the war. The situation that has prevailed in the country for a long time will demand restraint and renunciation from everybody; however, everybody has the right to understand the sense of restraint, and to see prospects for improvement both of his own and of the whole country's fate.

As the holy father indicates in Laborem Exerces, the encyclical on labor, there is a need for additional fronts of solidarity for the working people, and also of solidarity with the working people. [sentence as heard] On the other hand, all working people should understand that work for the common good is a moral duty. An employer's moral duty is honest pay. The working people, and other social groups, also must have the right to organize themselves in unions which suit them and which defend their real interests, taking into consideration the good of the state. This is a fundamental right.

In this sphere, the Second Vatican Council gives valuable directions in the apostolic constitution about the church in the contemporary world.

The bishops are following with profound concern the problems worrying the artistic and cultural circles, whose participation in the country's life is essential. People of culture and art must be guaranteed proper living and working conditions as well as conditions for forming associations. While appealing for a rich contribution of real artistic creative work to the national culture, the bishops appeal at the same time to all creative people to express and make permanent in works of art -- literature, plastic arts, music, and film -- those experiences from the time of the Jasna Gora jubilee and the holy father's second pilgrimage to our homeland. The bishops announce a national competition in this sphere. Details of the competition will be given in the press.

The bishops discussed the problems of contemporary Polish youth, particularly working youth. Some groups of young people are at the crossroads and are asking if possibilities still exist in our country for satisfying honest ambitions in life. Some see no prospects for themselves, and are leaving the country. Meanwhile, the homeland needs young minds and strong hands. The church will always concern itself with creating the proper conditions for young people to shape their characters, with the aim of preparing young people for taking on responsibility for their own lives as well as for the fate of the country and the church.

The Oaza and Swiatlo Zycie movements, among others, have been set up for that purpose and are included in pastoral liturgical service. Bishops are responsible for the proper development of the movement in individual dioceses.

The bishops heard a report from the charitable commission. The numerous gifts sent to Poland in 1982 are a new expression of kindness toward our community by millions of people of good will. We will continue to repay our debt, primarily by prayer and by the testimony of faith. The Episcopate has set Sunday 13 March 1983 as a day of thanksgiving for the gifts we have received, in order to commend all donors to the prayers of the faithful.

The forthcoming jubilee year of redemption is the most important event introduced by the present Lent. The holy father calls to the entire world to open the door for the redeemer. The holy father will open the holy year on 25 March, Annunciation Day. United with the pope, bishops throughout the world will open the holy year on the same day -- Polish bishops in their cathedrals. Throughout the holy year we will open ourselves to the redeemer in diocese pilgrimages, in jubilee masses set by diocese pastors, and particularly in the most dignified reception of the holy sacraments, called by the holy father in the first place. [sentence as heard] We will open the doors of our homes for the redeemer; we will introduce him again into our Polish life. We will be patronized by the holy mother, who, by her Jasna Gora jubilee, is preparing us for the jubilee of her son, the redeemer of the world.

The Polish bishops addressed a telegram of thanks to the holy father for declaring the holy year.

On entrusting all matters of the nation and the church to the care of the Lady of Jasna Gora and in the spirit of Christian hope for a better future, the bishops gave their pastoral blessing to the entire fatherland.

Warsaw, 24 February 1983

POLICE PERFORM IDENTITY CHECKS AT MASS

NC272200 Paris AFP in English 2144 GMT 27 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27 (AFP) -- Police in battledress and civilian clothes tonight carried out identity checks on persons who had attended a mass on the city outskirts, eyewitnesses reported.

About 10,000 persons were present at the mass. The identity checks were carried out after the service, with police telling the worshippers to leave the scene rapidly. Witnesses said some young persons were stopped and taken to patrol wagons. There were no reports of clashes, however.

During the mass in Saint Stanislas Church in Zoliborz neighborhood, the priest led a prayer for amnesty for imprisoned union activists and condemned the regime for punishing "those who think differently, feel differently and see the good of the country differently." The priest added that the victims of martial law, which was lifted last December, "are innocent because they defended the dignity of the worker." Referring to the coming trial of seven union activists who were formally arrested after the lifting of martial law, the priest asked rhetorically, "Will the trial not be a symbolic one against (the banned) Solidarity union?"

SEJM DEPUTY TRACES POLAND'S TIES WITH WEST

AU241440 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Feb 83 pp 4, 6

[Article by Ryszard Wojna, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission: "Poland and the West"]

[Excerpts] Poland's ties with the West are an old issue which is deeply rooted in history, colored by sentiments and grudges, and overflowing with contradictory feelings. There were times in our history when this issue was publicly discussed by our society in freedom and without the pressure that would silence those who harbored differing views. This was so in the fall of 1939 when we gave vent to our bitterness on account of the passivity of our Western allies.

The so-called "London" section of our society gave vent to its bitterness after Yalta, when our Western allies agreed that the solution of the "Polish question" must take into account the security of the USSR. Today exchanges of views on such a crucial subject as the ties between Poland and the West continue in virtual whispers.

It is needless to try to prove that large sections of our people, especially certain intellectual communities, regard themselves as strongly tied to the West. It is more important to answer the question of why this is so.

The most frequent and correct argument in this connection is that our ties with the West originate with the domination of Catholicism over other confessions in Poland and with some roots our culture has in Italy and France. (In my view the Italian factor has played a much greater role in this regard than the French factor.)

At the same time, many Polish historians indicate that we have also been open to cultural influences from other geographical directions. It is enough to take a closer look at that conglomerate of so-called old-Polish virtues [sarmatyzm].

Another important argument in favor of our ties with the West is the supposed community of the scale of the values professed by our people and the West. In the past 25 years some sections of our society have placed particular stress on pitting Western personalism against Eastern collectivism, that is, on the overriding superiority of individual rights over socialist solutions based on the priority of the social interests.

For many people in Poland the greater efficiency of the Western economy is a reason for their warmth toward the West. This is most often with those who possess the data to assume that they would enjoy better living conditions in the West.

The disappointments experienced by our emigrants show that this is not quite so. However, this subject does not belong here. Let us just say that no one questions the fact that the West is better off than we are. West European countries have been the richest countries in this part of the world for centuries. Some of them were colonial powers up until World War II. As for Poland, its riches were swept away as far back as the Swedish wars in and occupation of our country and were destroyed during the last two world wars.

Still another argument for our ties with the West is the fact that a Pole was elected pope. Rome has become a target of massive pilgrimages from Poland. However, this "Polish" Rome is a special issue. It is probably right to ask whether those massive pilgrimages to Rome bring about an intensification of our awareness of our ties with Mediterranean culture and with the cultural dawn of ancient Rome and Greece. I think, however, that -- aside from religious effects -- the Polish pope is enriching our ties with the West with new content from the viewpoint of history.

Summing up this brief enumeration of the factors that determine Polish society's sense of communion with the West, let us willy nilly note the role of the support given by some Western centers to the opposition groups in Poland.

In contrast to the sphere of consciousness, which is also determined by non-material factors, the sphere of economic cooperation is exclusively determined by realities. What matters in this connection is business interests (we have never been an equal economic partner for the West; this was Edward Gierek's unfulfilled dream), the complementary nature of the economies, the logic of economic geography, and a number of other tangible factors. The opposition or community of political interests is also important.

The aim of the Polish "great acceleration" in the seventies was actually to gear the Polish economy to Western prosperity. We saturated the Polish industry with masses of Western technologies and machines, thus making ourselves more dependent on steady supplies from the West than at any other period of People's Poland. This was more than just technological and economic dependence. Other areas of contacts with the West, including political and ideological contacts, were enormously extended.

All this made our country susceptible to pressure and then to economic blackmail, which was meant to force the Polish Government to follow a policy favoring the West in its showdown with the USSR and socialism in general.

It is a paradox that the economic and fiscal sanctions applied against Poland by the United States and NATO countries when martial law was introduced have affected with the greatest severity those plants and undertakings that were built or promoted with the help of Western technologies and equipment. This is because the performance of these plants and undertakings often depends on the Western supply of the necessary components, raw materials and spare parts.

The West's sanctions are forcing us to seek alternative solutions, which nevertheless often means heavy economic losses. Admitting that economic cooperation with the socialist countries and the entire CEMA area has unchanging priority, we do not hide the fact that in some cases the socialist countries cannot replace our Western partners because of the nature of the technology involved and because of the current supplies we need for production.

At the same time, radio stations like BBC or "Free Europe" warn the Polish community against the effects of increasing Poland's economic ties with the other CEMA partners, yet they remain silent about the fact that their controlling powers have brutally violated Poland's existing place in the international division of labor -- a division which does not always share the same boundaries as political systems.

As a result, we are threatened with the loss of a large part of our invested efforts from the seventies, which involved a huge amount of Polish work, and also with the loss of a part of the credits which we invested in machinery which is now standing idle. After all, we have to pay back these credits in any case.

This is what I meant when I said that the West is punishing us for having developed rather close economic cooperation with it.

But let us not make a virtue of the enforced situation in which we have found ourselves. We wish to rebuild economic cooperation with the West on a wide scale, remembering, however, that time is not a neutral factor. Many Polish factories are finding it difficult to point cooperation in toward the West, but when this process is finally completed this cooperation will remain in this direction for a long time. And Poland's economic potential today is meaningful in Europe.

This desire to rebuild cooperation has also been confirmed by the communique from the 11 February Council of Ministers' session. We read in it the following:

"Restoring normal contacts with Western countries will mean their giving up the anti-Polish policy of lawless sanctions and restrictions and the practice of meddling in Poland's international affairs.:

And further on: "The government will pay particular attention to those aspects of relations with nations abroad which may serve to overcome the economic crisis more quickly."

There is a third platform on which we base our relations with the West: the political platform and the international balance of forces and alliances connected with it.

The state's first duty is to guarantee the community security and peaceful existence. In this sphere our experiences with the West are unanimous. In order not to delve into history, let us merely remember that our Western alliances did not prove their worth in World War II, and after the war it took a very long time before our Western frontiers were confirmed by the West. By the way, in recent weeks nobody inside NATO dissociated himself from the revisionist statement made by the Bonn minister, Zimmermann.

Although our own adversaries at home are whispering into each other's ears that the West really is not on the side of the FRG revisionists but on our side, this is only naive wishful thinking. The weight of the FRG on the Western alliance is a thousand times greater than the value of Western sympathy for the Polish opposition.

I do not want to create the impression that I see in the FRG a threat to Poland. Huge and positive transformations have occurred within the West German community and one cannot identify the community with Mr Zimmermann. But the fact remains that it was enough for a change of government to occur in Bonn for old, disturbing tones to appear once again among the goals announced by that country.

The security of a people and state cannot be considered in isolation, but in connection with the international balance of forces. Each European country having an eye on its own security must at the same time consider the security of its nearest and most distant neighbors. That is why except for several neutral countries on our continent which lie outside any strategic route, all other countries are dealing with their security on the basis of the security of a given region, in other words they take collective security into consideration, based on the interests of the political communities.

The political factor plays a fundamental role. Some people in the West are drawing the conclusion today that the fate of modern Europe is being shaped by the rivalry between the United States and the USSR, and even that this rivalry is depriving Europe of a large part of its autonomy.

And while this rivalry is going on, the West, and especially the American Administration, wants to take advantage of the cultural ties between the Polish community and the West.

Should the governing forces in our country be offended at the West because of this? This would be irresponsible. The interests of the state demand that we seek constructive solutions to existing discrepancies. This is also demanded of us by the cause of peace and by the fact that we occupy an important place in the peaceful order which arose in Europe after World War II.

No, let us not be angry at the West, although we are well aware of the game being played with our interests which often borders on cynicism. We also know that the balance of political forces in the West is changing and that Poland is rather more deeply rooted there than it would seem from the sulking displayed by some politicians in Paris or London.

The Polish People's state is the inheritor of the entire Polish history, including that part of history which shaped our connections with the West.

Being a socialist country, contributing toward the joint defensive strength of the Warsaw Pact, and desiring to widen partnerlike cooperation within CEMA, we are open to cooperation with everyone on the principles of mutual advantages. Our old connections with the West should encourage this, not hinder it.

WOZNIAK INTERVIEWED ON PARTY'S GROWTH IN WARSAW

LD250042 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb (PAP) -- A voivodship PZPR conference, the final one in the party report-back campaign, will take place in Warsaw on 26 February. The Warsaw organization of the party, like the whole party, has traversed an uneasy path over the past few months. Ruthless attacks on the party, waged by the leaders of the antisocialist opposition, were accompanied by attempts to weaken it from without.

Marian Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, said in an interview with TRYBUNA LUDU, the strength of the party and the effectiveness of its activities have grown considerably. The process of the party ranks growing smaller has slowed down and new members are joining the party.

Last year in Warsaw, M. Wozniak said, we accepted into the party 517 people of whom young people under the age of 29 years accounted for more than a half. Today the party is joined by those who are deeply convinced that a step of this kind is correct and necessary, by people of great civic courage. And this is optimistic.

There are many large industrial enterprises at which the process of the party's rebirth and consolidation is noticeable. There are, however, those at which it is difficult to call the situation satisfactory.

In the Warsaw organization, we carry out various activities to deepen the contacts with various social groups of Warsaw and its voivodship. I think that it is precisely this style of party work that is needed today: to meet the people constantly, talk with them, take account of their moods, views and opinions.

M. Wozniak dwelt especially on matters of party work with the intelligentsia. He said that half of the scientific and cultural potential of Poland is grouped in Warsaw. It is no accident that it is precisly here that very intensive antisocialist actions are observed.

At the same time the great intellectual potential creates the chances for intensifying the activities of the intelligentsia in the struggle for the party and for the implementation of economic reforms. For example, one of the Warsaw higher education establishments has drawn up a package of expert advice on the matter of introducing the economic reform. Together with the chief technical organization we are seeking ways of reviving the milieu of young engineers in order to involve them in the search for solutions aimed at raising labor productivity and at improving the organization and effectiveness of management.

The Warsaw PZPR Committee cooperates with the party committees of all the European capitals of the socialist countries, the first secretary of the Warsaw committee announced. Last year we received delegations from Moscow and Berlin and this year from Ulaanbaatar. Our delegations have been to Moscow [remainder of item indistinct]

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI DESCRIBES RADIO SOLIDARITY

AU231445 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19/20 Feb 83 p 6

[Captain Ireneusz Czyzewski article: "Illegal Radio People"]

[Excerpts] The birth of Radio Solidarity is very similar to the most recent activities of the chief accused in the trial that has just ended -- Zbigniew Romaszewski. Everything indicates that he was one of those who brought the idea of a radio station from KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] to Solidarity, and he was probably the only one who succeeded in setting up the radio station under conditions of conspiratorial activity.

The station made itself known for the first time on 12 April last year with a 8-minute program broadcast on UHF. Its contents were predictable. Several items of current information were given, including a statement containing the words "... We are living in a country where war is going on."

This type of information has for obvious reasons been classified as false and likely to arouse public unrest, and that is why the garrison prosecutor's office initiated criminal proceedings under summary jurisdiction, and the security service initiated a search for the radio operators.

On 30 April, a second program was broadcast. Zbigniew Romaszewski appeared in it, introducing himself as the station's organizer, and he described the station's aims. After this, the station came on the air several more times, once a week on average, and announced or commented on actions inspired by the Solidarity underground.

In this way, the inhabitants of Warsaw were called upon (on 9 May) to wage a 15-minute strike on 13 May, and the events which had occurred in the streets of Warsaw on 3 May were presented falsely. According to the station, these events had been provoked by special Citizen's Militia units and then crushed by "maddened and drug-intoxicated" ZOMO [Motorized Citizens' Militia Reserve] units." It was at this time that preparations for a general strike were asked for.

In another program (on 6 June), soldiers were called upon to disobey their superiors and refuse to carry out orders and it was announced that an alleged action to pacify the student community had been stepped up. However, something new appeared on this day -- a second transmitter operating under the codename "Komar II" ["Mosquito II"]. It turned out that the new transmitter had been introduced at the right time, since 2 days later (on 8 June), at 2230 hours directly after a broadcast, a militia patrol apprehended two young people near the junction of Krakowa Avenue and First of August Street. One of them was carrying a black diplomatic case containing the broadcasting equipment of "Komar I." The two were taken into custody; they were Dariusz R., an electronics technician from the Institute of Nuclear Research in Swierk, and Jacek B., a historian and an employee of the public library in Koszykowa Street.

It is really at this moment that the illegal activity of radio stations began to decline. The programs continued to be transmitted. Romaszewski was still free, as well as Danuta J., a new announcer, and one Janusz Klekowski, pseudonym "Teofil," a musician and a person occupying an important place in the radio set-up. Romaszewski was detained on 29 August. Two days later, on the 31st, the militia detained Danuta J. during the time of the street rallies in Warsaw.

The way the radio station works was more or less already known at the time of these arrests. All the connections and duties of specific persons were brought to light as a result of explanations made by some suspects and material gathered during investigations. It also emerges from these sources that the station was not badly organized, although the conspiratorial net was rather wide. The Romaszewski couple, who were orginally connected with KOR and then with Solidarity in the union's Mazowsze chapter's intervention bureau, can be regarded as having had the chief role. Romaszewski himself has said he is an organizer, while his wife played the party of an announcer. The Criminal Affairs Department of the militia headquarters has confirmed that both her voice and that of Danuta J. are contained on tapes with the recordings of programs. Besides Romaszweski, the abovementioned "Teofil" served as technical coordinator for matters connected with broadcasting -- choosing where broadcasts ought to be made and where equipment should be hidden. Others were something in the nature of technicians; they transported the radio station to the next broadcasting location (Jacek B., Dariusz R.) or were quite simply liaison people. Therefore, Irena R.-G., as a cashier in a drugstore in the city center, was in a good position because of her place of work to act as a contact. She also made her apartment available for the needs of the radio station.

Until a certain time it was not known where the broadcasting equipment was being set up. But its maufacturer was discovered. The manufacturer turned out to be an engineer, K., and everything indicated that he had plans to commence the mass production of transmitters -- at least 10 a month. He has been detained and will face a court shortly. Of course, questions come to mind about the possibilities of obtaining the right parts and components. It turns out that 90 percent of them can be bought in our shops -- with one, most important exception.

A power generator costing several dozens of dollars was obtained in the West. Those who were in the operation knew in which parcels coming in from the West something like this could be found. We do not know how many such items reached the country. Some have been discovered during searches, but most probably not all of them. The installation diagrams were duplicated and sent out. There is no shortage of experts in this field in Poland, so other people connected with the underground will most probably want to set up underground radio as well. (Such an attempt was made on the day in which the trial of the Radio Solidarity organizers started.) There was no shortage of money either. It strikes one that this conspiratorial activity must have been a profitable business since most of the radio operators are currently unemployed and yet they still live comfortably and even have several apartments and cars, like the Romaszewskis. A maker of broadcasting equipment once demanded quite a high price for one receiver -- several tens of thousands of zlotys.

Mainly tall buildings were selected as broadcasting locations, usually situated, with a small number of exceptions, in the center of the city in Marchlewski, Jerozolimskie, First of August, Komarona and Chomiczowka Streets. The equipment possessed time-switch devices, which increased the security of the service personnel. The radio station developed systematically. In the beginning there was one receiver, and then two. Programs were broadcast on two wavebands. Before the transmitters were installed inside laundries or other domestic facilities on the top floors of buildings, careful inspections were made to see how and where the equipment could be connected up, keys were duplicated, and security was examined from every angle. All this careful planning was to no avail after the first attempts at transmission, when it turned out that after a few minutes detection apparatus contained inside helicopters was able to locate a transmitter. Although this method of seeking had to be modified to suit urban conditions, it served to locate transmitters and lead directly to the arrest of the people carrying out the illegal activity.

The Warsaw Military District Court has passed sentence in this affair. Its verdict needs no comment. Nevertheless, it is worth realizing that we are experiencing the finale of the conspiratorial activity of yet another group of people who have absolutely deliberately collided with the law.

PRESS CONFERENCE ON ANTI-INFLATION PACKAGE

LD241533 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw 23 Feb. — The uncontrolled rise in wages which brought last year's inflation gap in Poland to a formidable 450-500 billion zlotys seems to have been curbed, as last January the amount of money spent on wages was 20 percent lower than last December, with most pays being one-time remunerations, newsmen were told at a conference at Poland's State Planning Commission here today. People's incomes last year exceeded by 300 billion the planned target, and remuneration for work accounted for as much as 190 billion zlotys of that figure. The resultant inflation gap reached 220 billion zlotys. This together with the quota stored for a number of years produced the 450-500 billion record at the end of the year.

An anti-inflation package on which the government is currently working is primarily aimed to reduce population's incomes, which does not however mean a wage freeze, it was stressed. Enterprises themselves can arrange wages under regulations in force, but no decisions will be taken on wage increases for any specific social groups, and banks will grant credits exclusively to those enterprises which are economically sound. The above system will be supported with a Council of Ministers decree on unjustifiable costs and with increased control over the prices fixed by co-producers, among other measures.

The anti-inflation package can be divided into three sections. First, the supply of goods and services should go up by 20 per cent between 1982 and 1985. Second, the amount of money at enterprises should be reduced and the zloty should be made more expensive for them. Third, the demand should be brought down from a two-digit to one-digit figure in the years 1984-85.

OBODOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON BERLIN CEMA MEETING

LD252352 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] [no dateline as received] Janusz Obodowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who attended the 30th session of the CEMA Planning Committee was interviewed by PAP and TRYBUNA LUDU on the outcome of the session:

The experience of the past few years shows that we have an incentive to rely on cooperation with the socialist countries to a greater degree than hitherto with regard to foreign economic relations. Only in this way can we secure for ourselves greater economic stability and avoid unpleasant surprises -- at least such surprises as economic sanctions against Poland. The problem of bringing national economic mechanisms closer together is especially important now that we are taking measures to develop direct links between economic organizations of CEMA countries.

Poland is coordinating plans for collaboration with socialist countries for 1986-90 in what is known to be an exceptionally complex economic situation. We are interested primarily in cooperation with a view to ensuring for ourselves supplies of main types of fuel and raw material, developing nuclear energy, increasing grain and fodder production, and also developing the dairy industry and promoting coproduction and industrial output, thus enabling us to use our production capacities, our existing technology, etc, and permitting us to reduce our dependence on imports from capitalist countries.

Our participation in the 30th session of the CEMA committee, J. Obodowski said, coincided with the completion of talks with the central planning bodies of the USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania on coordinating plans for 1983-85, and also on cooperation and trade in 1983. The outcome of the talks is known. Today I only wish to mention briefly that our initiatives met with huge interest, especially from the USSR. Opportunities for a considerable expansion of cooperation with the Soviet Union are envisaged, especially in the field of use of free production capacities in Poland and in completion of initiated projects.

The agreement we reached with CEMA countries on cooperation in 1983 and following years and growth in trade, is a sign of progressive normalization in the Polish national economy and evidence of the confidence of our partners in its ability to function correctly and to get out of the crisis. At the same time it is a factor making it easier to overcome more swiftly the difficultues being felt by the Polish economy.

The talks at the Berlin session of the CEMA Planning Committee gave me the opportunity to declare that by deepening the cooperation of socialist countries, many problems can be solved and technical dependence on capitalist countries can be overcome.

PAP ATTACKS AFL-CIO STATEMENT ON POLAND

LD252106 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 25 Feb 83

["AFL-CIO Supports Reagan Policy of Sanctions" -- PAP headline; by PAP commentator]

[Text] Warsaw 25 Feb -- The management of the largest American trade union organization AFL-CIO, which for the last two years distinguished itself by a frantically anti-Polish attitude, took new measures and presented new statements directed against Poland's interests.

Here are the facts: The management of AFL-CIO held this week a meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, at which it issued a statement presenting the picture not so much of life in Poland as images and evaluations of the authors of the document, images coming unequivocally from ill will, prejudice, or the desire to make another propaganda attack on Poland.

The picture (?was) intended to mobilize the Western public opinion against the People's Poland. The authors do not care about the fact that their descriptions of life in Poland have little in common with facts.

The statement presents in a false light the situation in Poland and promotes the picture of Poland not only straying away from reality, but outright -- and with all premediation -- mendacious.

The statement is a full and unconditional support for the Reagan policies; a kind of support the administration needs, since the policies of sanctions are in fact rejected by the Western world and considered as the worst form available. These policies are attacked and criticized even in the United States.

The AFL-CIO once again, and probably not for the last time, put itself in the row of firm allies of President Reagan and stubborn opponents of People's Poland, proving extreme conservatism and extreme lack of political realism.

FRENCH PAPER DESCRIBES ROMANIA UNDER CEAUSESCU

WA281420 Paris LE MONDE in French 31 Jan 83

[Article by Claire Trean: "The Romanian Party and His Wife"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 26 January, Romania celebrated in enthusiastic style the 65th birthday of President Ceausescu. The press published rousing eulogies and the radio broadcast music and patriotic songs dedicated to the "hero." However, the opinions of the man in the street reveal the other side of the stage set.

Bucharest -- "I will accompany you, but I cannot talk...Here, one cannot talk..." However, this first arrival, from whom I had asked for directions in a busy Bucharest street, finally did not resist; once on our way, he talked. He talked looking straight ahead, with me walking by his side, as if he was talking to himself. He was also talking by himself because I didn't ask any questions; out of consideration, prudence, because the streets, the crowd, the walls have ears. As we passed the interminable queues ("for milk, for eggs, for butter, for meat when there is any, for soap, for everything..."), this unassuming employee in the municipal services spoke in perfect French and in a few furtive phrases about the difficulties of life. He became sentimental as he referred timidly to that other world from which I came and which he did not know. And his voice became harsh, hateful, against the power that he did not choose and which is his arbitrary ruler: "We never know what to expect; he may announce anything from one day to the next."

And indeed "he" may, the one who has no name, other than in the press where his litanies appear without comment, and in bookstore windows that permanently display his complete works. The one whose ardent zealots address only in the superlative, unstintingly describing him as "the most beloved son, the greatest, the most glorious in the fatherland," hailing his titanic work "in service of Romania, indeed of all mankind."

For "he" is never named directly, not even in the jokes in which nonsubmission takes refuge, for example the paradox: "the Communist Party and his wife," which sums up a regime where the nomenclature merges with the power-sharing among family members.

"He" Is Everywhere

If, as an exception, one succeeds in drawing onto the path of criticism or humor one of the privileged of the system who is regarded as resistant to some of its aspects, irony suddenly disappears as soon as the cult of personality becomes involved. The smile freezes and the conversation cuts short with the phrase: "Let us just say that we have a very bad propaganda service..."

To attack him is to commit a crime of lese majeste. To mention him is to venture into the area of certain danger. The prohibition that applies to his name in all conversations, both official and nonofficial, is the most revealing evidence of omnipotence and omnipresence.

"He" is everywhere. Even in this little church, standing inconspicuously a few feet from the imposing buildings of the party and the presidential palace, where, before the magnificent gold of the altar and amid the strong scent of burning incense, a deep voice intones the passages of the Orthodox liturgy, you have the illusion for a moment of having entered a haven. One phrase from the priest in concluding the service, praying to God to "protect the president of Romania," and the illusion disappears. Nothing escapes the supreme reference; moreover, the Romanian Orthodox Church has long since shown that it does not intend to distance itself. It has pawned itself to the ruling power.

"He" is everywhere, and his political police, the Securitate, embodies fear in this stifling city as well as fear's companions: sycophancy, resignation, and impetuous desire to flee or find solitude. One of those who, in rejecting exile have in fact chosen it, during a walk in a public park asserted his right to think, and spoke with a glacial fatalism: "After all, what can he do? At worst, he can kill us..." He explained: "The main thing is not to yield to paranoia." However, he suddenly paled on spotting at a bend in the path a man in a beige-colored suit carrying an attache case.

Another said: "Despite everything, you go on living; finding some amusement, getting by." You sell a little pile of apples in the market. You set up your folding table on the sidewalk outside the grocery to play cards all night until morning. You get organized; during the day, the older people, the retired, take over in the lines. You even laugh. What remains of Bucharest's intelligentsia is praising this kind of subtle allusion, of third-level parable presented in a film that has just come out. People roar with laughter in a theater presenting a play that unrestrainedly mocks the party and its efforts to impose collectivization in the peasant environment. The king has his fools. Then there was the person in his comfortable villa downtown: "Certainly, we can criticize the party, because the party is ourselves." Did not they have to enlarge the congress hall because the number of members had grown so much in 2 years? Isn't that a sign of massive support for the regime? He brought out from his library Mircea Eliade's "History of Religions" to "prove" that nothing is banned. However, he could not contain his anger while discussing those "bad writers" (Goma and Tanase) who live in Paris: "How could a paper like LE MONDE open its columns to those people."

The king also has his poets, with straggling hair, dashing scarf, and flowery language who participate in the party conference and whose art does not prevent them from standing to attention and applauding on cue like everyone else. Nevertheless, Romania does have a literature worthy of the term. Some of its writers do oppose, in discussions within the Writers Union, the advocates of a more orthodox, simple and nationalist literature. Party officials to avoid having to comment, with an indulgent smile describe these discussions as "poets' quarrels, unintelligible to the layman."

The writers are a group apart. Their union is the only organization in the country still permitted to elect its leaders by secret ballot. One intellectual explained: "They work on the Romanian language, so that exile has less attraction for them. They have not succumbed to the fever of emigration that has decimated intellectual circles in the past few years. The other side of the coin is that their activity, even though in many respects it may appear as dissidence, is primarily and almost exclusively devoted to defending their own status."

Others who work in the scientific disciplines have also chosen to speak. Despite the government's control of all the cultural institutions in the country, such individuals sometimes find a way to conduct solitary work in obscurity. Milhail Botez, the eminent mathematician, who was dismissed from teaching a few years ago, mainly regrets the isolation in which he has to pursue his research: 29 times he has been refused an exit visa to participate in various seminars or symposiums at the invitation of his foreign colleagues.

Demoralized

A few of these intellectuals who chose to remain have since last summer been circulating a petition that looks like the final overt initiative for action to be undertaken in Romania. Their goal was to collect signatures of individuals with some reputation, and they wanted to avoid having the document serve as a springboard for people planning to emigrate. Wisely, they pointed out that they were "men of culture, not men of action," and denied that their purpose was to incite an insurrection: "We have neither the arrogance nor the naivete to believe that we have solutions that will restore the Romanian people's confidence in the competence of those who lead them or in a better future." They only proposed that dialogue be initiated, and affirmed that "recognizing mistakes is no shame."

The document collected only very few signatures. Most of the people approached backed away from this act of "self-denunciation" or "self-marginalization," claiming to see no usefulness in it. The demoralization is total. The era of promoting appeals and of legal actions is past. The noose has tightened, and collective condemnation of the regime, other than spontaneous outbreaks of very localized dissatisfaction, is no longer expressed except in the form of anonymous letters, with the West and Radio Free Europe offering a sounding board.

Although these documents from "groups" of workers, farmers, and party members demonstrate obvious courage, they give no indication of the degree to which the dissatisfaction is organized. One of the most recent of these letters, broadcast by Radio Free Europe a few days before the national party conference in December, sent thrills through the Romanian emigre community. Signed by "a group of communists," it denounced "the disastrous situation resulting from Nicolae Ceausescu having put himself above the party and having made it his personal property," and called on the delegates to be "sincere and honest," to "tell the truth, only the truth."

Suicidal Audacity

Yet, emigre circles remember the solitary and suicidal audacity of old delegate Pirvulescu, who at the last congress had dared to say a few hard words about the president. His "madness" earned him committal to a psychiatric hospital from which he has never emerged. They began to dream, without much believing it, that "something" was about to happen; they began waiting for some dramatic event. Nothing happened, and all the Western press got was the ritual conjuring performance by the country's master.

As he spoke from the rostrum to the 4,000 delegates, whom he had constantly rising and sitting down in unison, this little, unattractive individual, overshadowed by the huge pastel yellow, exaggerated portrait hung behind him, was able to do anything, say anything, and be accountable to no one, either in the hall or in the country. Nicolae Ceausescu cited contradictory statistics; the assembly applauded. He admitted failures and announced miracles for tomorrow; the hall applauded. He summoned Romanians into the radiant future, and told them that they are too well fed; the hall applauded.

Almost 20 years ago, this man had the genial insolence to face up to Moscow. He thereby succeeded in gaining recognition as leader, for a few years at least, by a people who were still suffering because of the Russians and who, prior to this new master, had only had authoritarian regimes. He thereby also gained the longer lasting, and at the very least imprudent, recognition by a West that was too ready to regard Romanian dissidents as supporters of Moscow.

As years passed, Romania became the toy of a megalomaniac who came to believe his own words. A total gap has developed between his speeches and a population that expects nothing more from each new whim than another turn of the screw.

At the National History Museum in Bucharest, hundreds of square meters are devoted to permanent display of the gifts given to the president. The first rooms are full of gifts by the "people": paintings, huge tapestries, and various sculptures and objects, in which idolatrous and naive awkwardness takes the place of talent. "The Communist Party and his wife" are generally represented in royal poses, even in some cases in company with the ancient kings of Romania. Then come the rooms devoted to presents from abroad, arranged by continent. Decorations, titles, various orders, all religiously under glass, and the most incongruous gifts are lined up like relics in interminable display cases, down to an American film director's chair with Ceausescu's name embroidered on the canvas back, or a certificate of honorary citizenship in... Disney World. New tokens of esteem and admiration will be flooding in this week to mark the president's 65th birthday. Happy birthday, Mr Ceausescu.

FURTHER ON PRESIDENCY REPORT TO ASSEMBLY

Part III

AU251228 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 83 p 4

[Third and last installment of "short excerpts from the most important parts of the SFRY Presidency's report on socioeconomic development, implementation of the economic stabilization policy and the foreign policy and international position of Yugoslavia" submitted to the SFRY Assembly on 18 February]

[Text] A considerable part of the report is devoted to implementing the policy of faster development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosov: It also calls attention to the shortcomings in reaching accords between the republics and provinces on fulfilling their common interests within the federation and points out the general orientation to strengthening responsibility in the society.

In the continuation, that is, in the part on Yugoslavia's foreign policy and international position, the report says among other things that the complex combination of contradictions affecting today's world is manifesting itself today as a deep crisis in international economic and political relations and, at the same time, as a constant struggle to overcome this crisis.

Difficult Position of Developing Countries

The extremely difficult and unequal position of the developing countries burdens the entire complex of international relations, is at the root of the world economic crisis and furthermore, incites conflicts and rivalries between the blocs. A certain relaxation of tension in the seventies was fragile and short. Today, the negative elements have become dominant in international relations and the rivalry between the blocs has extended to all continents.

A deep economic recession has also gripped the developed countries despite their more favorable international positions. In the OECD countries alone, the number of unemployed, mainly younger people, has reached 30 million and it is anticipated that the number will further increase. The East European socialist countries, too, are facing increasingly acute internal problems and difficulties, a slowdown of their economic growth and the problems of agriculture and foreign liquidity.

However, the developing countries have been hardest hit. The fall in the prices of raw materials and the constantly rising prices of industrial products and technology have halved the national income of a majority of these countries. Even some oil exporting countries have found themselves in difficulties. During the past year alone, the debts of developing countries increased by $100 billion and reached a total of $640 billion. This indebtedness is primarily a consequence of the existing inequality in international economic relations, that is, of the fact that the outflow of capital from developing countries through price relationships, high interest rates and the profits of multinational companies is considerably larger than the influx of capital through various forms of an increasingly restrictive international financing of development. Many developing countries are unable to bear the burden of growing repayments which exceed the potential of their economies. All this points to the need for essential transformations in the international economic and financial system.

Rivalry in Arms

The arms race has not only been accelerated, but has also assumed new and even more dangerous forms.

Nuclear, neutron, laser and other weapons are being perfected and a dangerous missile rivalry is taking place in Europe. Military bases are spreading and increasingly numerous large military maneuvers are conducted in the strategically sensitive regions, including those around our borders. Simultaneously with the further development and accumulation of nuclear weapons, the race in conventional weapons is also being accelerated and tactical nuclear weapons are being perfected -- something mainly intended for local conflicts. All this especially endangers the nonaligned countries. Therefore, to preserve their own independence, these countries are forced to further arm themselves, which exhausts their already limited possibilities for development and can lead to new forms of dependence.

Calling attention among other things to the special responsibility of big powers in the sphere of disarmament, we have always believed that the entire international community should participate in solving this problem. For this reason, we have advocated in the United Nations, together with other nonaligned countries, the convening of the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament and the adoption of a comprehensive disarmament program.

And today, just as in the past period, we continue to support all constructive initiatives for easing tension, strengthening international security and opening negotiations that will really lead to halting the arms race and initiating a disarmament process. We believe that what is most essential at this time is for all participants in the arms race to demonstrate a greater degree of political readiness and mutual trust.

The general deterioration of the international situation and the very unfavorable economic trends in the world make our international position and our tasks in preserving our independent and autonomous development more complicated.

Yugoslavia has gained a strong international position thanks, above all, to the authenticity of its revolution, to the establishment of full equality of the peoples and nationalities, to its determination to preserve at any cost its independence and autonomy in building socialist self-management, as well as to the consistency of its nonaligned foreign policy. Our international position is unbreakably linked with the historical role and reputation of President Tito.

The principles which guided us in choosing the roads of our internal development have permanently determined Yugoslavia's stand in favor of a nonaligned policy, a consistent support for all progressive and liberation movements and strivings of peoples, an open attitude toward the world and broad activities for the sake of preserving world peace, relaxation of international tension and the construction of equitable political and economic relations in the world.

In all the fields of international relations, Yugoslavia will continue to be guided by the key positions thanks to which it has built its strong and stable international position. It is of greatest importance that the foreign political activities of our country remain comprehensive, dynamic and full of initiative. On these foundations, we must cultivate and develop good relations with the neighboring and other European countries, with the big powers and especially with the nonaligned and developing countries.

Full Contribution to the Nonaligned Movement

The present dangerous international situation, in which the nonaligned policy is increasingly manifested as the chief protagonist of the struggle for peace and cooperation, confirms more clearly than ever the correctness of our foreign political orientation. We attach extraordinary significance to the forthcoming tasks of the Nonaligned Movement; for the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security, and therefore also the ensurance of the conditions for a general, and our own, independent and stable development depend to a great extent on their implementation.

For this purpose,Yugoslavia, together with other nonaligned countries, will strive to make the greatest possible contribution to the overall activities of the Nonaligned Movement at this moment, especially at the seventh conference of the heads of states or governments of the nonaligned countries. We will continue to have an intensive exchange of opinions with the nonaligned countries on all international problems, especially those which will be accorded greatest attention at the seventh conference.

Extending consistent support to the strivings for independence and emancipation, the seventh conference which will be held in New Delhi in March 1983 should, in our opinion, stress essential problems of the present-day world: the preservation of peace through developing active and peaceful coexistence and the provision of conditions for development. These two essential problems are most closely linked and their solution demands a united approach. Under the conditions of bloc confrontations, the seventh conference opens up the possibility that the Nonaligned Movement can enhance its role as a bridge in an interdependent world, in negotiations and in solving international problems.

The principles of nonalignment are not merely the basis for our activities in the Nonaligned Movement. They have been and remain the basic criterion of Yugoslavia's adoption of stands in all the essential aspects of its international activities. The overall foreign policy of Yugoslavia is Tito's policy of independence, nonalignment, openness and peaceful equal cooperation with the world. It is a policy of active struggle for independence and political and economic emancipation of all the countries and peoples, for more just international relations, for a world free of the dangers of war, free of hunger and all kinds of material and spiritual poverty. Just like self-management and brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, Yugoslavia's nonaligned foreign policy is one of the chief factors of homogeneity and resistance of our society against every attempt at destabilization from within or without.

FEDERAL COMMISSION VIEWS ECONOMIC SITUATION

AU251724 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] (TANJUG) -- In Belgrade the day before yesterday, a session of the Coordination Committee of the Federal Executive Council was held which was chaired by Milka Planinc and attended by presidents of the executive councils of the republics and provinces. It was assessed that the economic situation continues to be serious and difficult despite the measures undertaken and despite the activity of the organs of the federation, republics and provinces, communes and organizations of associated labor. The obligations toward foreign countries have particularly intensified.

Although the stabilization policy has been generally accepted and is yielding positive results, the behavior in certain circles, it was said at the session, deviates from the adopted and agreed policy, something that continues to contribute to a deepening and prolongation of economic difficulties. Without vitally changing the behavior in all circles it is impossible to implement the policy of economic stabilization. In this connection it was pointed out in particular that all forms of spending -- investment, general and common -- are higher than the increase in income and personal income. In this connection, no care is being taken concerning the reduced material possibilities of associated labor and society in general. As was stressed, this is contrary to the resolution on the socioeconomic development of the country in 1983 as well as to the positions of the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations. For this reason it is indispensable that all decisionmaking and self-managing factors and other organs try to bring spending into accordance with the adopted and agreed policy.

It was also pointed out that the creation of conditions in which relations in reproduction would be regulated on self-managing foundations instead of by administrative measures is indispensable because only in this way is it possible to contribute to the further development of socialist self-managing relations in which associated labor would decide on the overall income. With the measures of economic policy, as was said at the session, it is necessary to create the conditions in which associated labor would resolve material disproportions on the basis of income principles and through linkage and association on the unified Yugoslav market. To this end it was assessed that stable conditions of operations and a balancing of the overall relations with foreign countries are of vital importance. For this reason measures have been adopted or are being prepared which will direct associated labor to work primarily toward increasing trade with foreign countries on a long-term basis.

The expected financial support from abroad for the Yugoslav stabilization program should be used primarily to implement precisely these goals, regardless of partial interests, it was said at the session. The interest of the entire country -- and also its orientation -- is to regularly repay foreign debts and to enable the economy to include itself to a greater extent in the international division of labor.

The Coordination Commission of the Federal Executive Council supported this orientation. In this connection, it was stressed that this can be realized only through a firmer linkage and association of the organizations of associated labor on joint production programs.

The session also discussed other problems of the current economic policy.

RELJIC DISCUSSES USE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

LD261931 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] Osijek, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- Luka Reljic, federal secretary for the market and general economic affairs, stressed in a speech in Osijek today at the end of a conference devoted to economic stabilization and the implementation of the constitutional concept of organized activity by consumers, that it is only by a change in behavior that we can overcome the complex situation which has arisen in the market and the economy. Yet there are examples of work proceeding in the old way.

The most striking example, Reljic stressed, lies in the question of providing foreign exchange to resolve the shortage of some necessary consumer goods.

No one who according to the social agreement should provide foreign exchange has done so, or at least done so to a sufficient extent. At the same time, 70 percent of foreign exchange over-plan has been provided for equipment this year.

Such an attitude is difficult to justify when one knows that we could have resolved the shortages with minimal additional resources. Had we set aside an additional $15 to $20 million for detergents, there would have been enough for even greater demand. Some $30 million would have been required to completely alleviate the shortage of edible oil. About $40-$50 million would have been necessary in order to improve the situation in which we find ourselves in the supply of medicines. According to Reljic, what is unfavorable is the fact that these tendencies were also in evidence at the beginning of the year and business banks are delaying the provision of foreign exchange. This delay and procrastination creates an atmosphere of inefficiency and a psychosis of mistrust, and also certainly makes for continued shortages of some products on the market. There are also pressures, Reljic said, and demands for other possible solutions, including, above all, administrative solutions which can definitely not provide the right answers for a way out of the present situation.

The League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions must resolutely work to ensure that everybody carries out his obligations and tasks. A debate will also be held on this in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly.

We should change the situation in which large industrial centers ration edible oil, sugar and similar products, because problems in those environments can be fully resolved with $200,000 to $300,000. Hence, what is at stake is the organization and more efficient action of associated labor and of other factors in those environments. Practically no single sociopolitical community has been asked the question: Why, for instance, has the business bank provided $100 million for imported equipment, yet has not given a guarantee for the imports of necessary products amounting to only $1 million.

Speaking in Osijek, Reljic pointed to the pronounced tendency of organs to take advantage of illegal phenomena in the market. Things have gone so far, Reljic said, that inspection services themselves are engaged in illegal activity. We should see where this leads from the standpoint of the system, of social relations and of everything else, he said.

SAWPY ORGAN NOTES PROBLEMS IN NATIONAL ECONOMY

LD242012 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG) -- Economic trends in our country at the beginning of this year do not differ substantially from those prevalent last year. There is no significant improvement in production, exports and foreign liquidity or in the sphere of prices, investments and consumption. This was stressed at the session today of the SAWPY federal conference section for socioeconomic trends and development policy (Marjan Rozic was in the chair).

Short-term, administrative measures, it was said, are not yielding the expected results, and the impression is gained that it is precisely to them that greatest attention has been paid and that too much is expected of them. Associated labor -- in particular, reliance on one's own forces -- which was the chief orientation when the resolution for this year was adopted, has been neglected. Little attention is being paid to strategic orientations laid down by the starting foundations for the economic stabilization, and to acquisition of income.

In his introductory speech, Dragan Vasiljevic stressed that what is of particular concern is the slow increase in exports to the convertible currency area. Inflation is also very high. Prices in January were 30.5 percent higher than in January of last year. The cost of living is also continuously rising, in particular, the price of food. There are still no reliable figures for the trend in consumption in Janaury, Vasiljevic added, but it is certain that tendencies are present pointing to a high increase. Financing of investments still continues to rely most on credits and least on one's own participation.

In trying to find the causes for such an unfavorable situation, Sukrija Uzunovic observed that we are still united only in orientations, and not in action.

Metod Rotar objected to our paying too little attention to consumption, which exceeds our possibilities. In the first 9 months of last year, he added, the total income of the Yugoslav economy was 75 billion dinars, but consumption amounted to 120 billion dinars.

Concluding the debate, Marjan Rozic stressed that to implement the resolution and the measures of the economic stabilization is not at all a mechanical business and that many still do not feel the need to contribute to the implementation of what we have agreed on. The Socialist Alliance, in particular the federal conference, must work more decisively and determine who is not carrying out his work. One should also free oneself of the illusion that we shall change the present unfavorable economic trends merely with the help of administrative measures.

LC'S CKREBIC ON LACK OF ORGANIZATION IN ECONOMY

AU251947 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Excerpts] At its session today, the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia discussed a report on supplies for the population and considered ways of ensuring that the shops have a more plentiful supply of goods, especially staple goods. In this connection we propose here to hear a part of the concluding speech by Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, who especially stressed the importance of regular supply:

[Begin Ckrebic recording] What is involved here is the fact that our own production is insufficient, that we do not have enough raw materials and that we lack sufficient foreign exchange funds to import these raw materials. Our level of production is much lower, and therefore we must find some kind of respite to overcome this situation and, at the same time, to ensure nevertheless a certain criterion in the society which will enable us to properly distribute the available quantity of products while we are pulling ourselves out of this situation. I think that it is still a valid statement to say that we lack a sufficiently high degree of organization in the economy and the society to overcome these difficulties. If we do not yet have sufficient foreign exchange funds, then we should at least have a higher degree of organization to be able to use the available resources in the most economical way. [end recording]

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON USSR-U.S. MISSILE DIALOGUE

LD251650 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] If in the second half of January it appeared as if the revival of Soviet-U.S. dialogue on missiles would not be in vain, now, as time passes, the world is less and less ready to believe that such an agreement is possible. The two superpowers continue to correspond day after day through the press and in official statements in which they offer each other unacceptable solutions on the allegedly best way out of the missile crisis, while in fact it is becoming increasingly obvious that not even the beginning of the road which could lead them to a real agreement is in sight. President Reagan offers his zero option daily and Moscow can barely keep up with him saying no to every offer. The U.S. President has also raised the question of wheat deliveries to the Soviet Union, asking for concessions in exchange for lifting the embargo. According to him, the ball is now a little bit in their court, which in practice means that the Soviet Union should send it back in the form of a concession [as heard]. This ballgame between the big powers is becoming more and more dangerous for world peace and the longer this goes on, the worse its effect will be. The wheat which Reagan talks about has its own importance in Soviet-U.S. relations, but it quite certainly cannot be mixed with missiles.

After all, for the sake of truth it should be said that it was U.S. farmers who more than anyone else made Reagan decide to lift the embargo.

To the Soviet Union it is clear that the United States will do everything to install the Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, just as it is clear to President Reagan, and not only to him, that the Soviet Government will not accept his zero option. Andrey Gromyko's words, who says in his reply to Reagan that "to us they suggest the zero option and to themselves they leave everything they have" clearly show that on that basis there can be no agreement between the two superpowers.

Instead of the zero option, Moscow offers two counterproposals: to equalize the number of medium-range missiles in Europe regardless whose they are -- U.S., Soviet or British-French -- or to reduce the level of nuclear potentials in Europe by 25 percent. The United States, let us recall, rejects both of the offered variants, in which it is unreservedly supported only by France and Great Britain and not by the other Atlantic pact member countries, or at least not fully. That is what worries President Reagan far more than the fact that even this year will perhaps pass without a Soviet-U.S. agreement on missiles. The U.S. President feels, and Vice President Bush has reached the same conclusion, that the West Europeans, with the exception of France and Great Britain, incline more toward the Soviet variant than toward Reagan's zero option. Reagan is worried on this account and accepts the accusations made by Claude Cheysson, French minister of foreign affairs, according to whom Moscow wants to cause a row both between West European allies and between them and the United States. Moscow ridicules this idea because it is clear to all that there have been deep differences for a long time in U.S.-West European relations which the Soviet Union is perhaps exploiting, but did not cause.

What worries the United States most of all at this moment is the uncertainty concerning the elections in the FRG which are to be held on 6 March. If Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher happen to lose, which is not likely, Reagan's zero option would most likely be finished forever. In such a case it is a great question whether Moscow would be content with what it is now proposing.